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THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, in India and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.
4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretaries, Branch Secretaries, an Editor, and seven other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.

Any four of the above members to form a quorum.

5. The subscription shall be—

- (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
- (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions are payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.

Membership is open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

6. The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in a Quarterly Journal which will be sent *free* to all members, and which will be on sale at twelve annas per copy to non-members.
7. There will be nine Ordinary Meetings in each Session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretary.
8. Members may obtain, on application to the Secretary, invitation cards for the admission of their friends to the lectures.
9. The Annual General Meeting will be held in July.
10. Framing and alteration of Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

F. R. SELL,
Honorary Secretary.

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The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. VI.]

[No. 1

THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

MYTHIC SOCIETY

Held at Bangalore, on August 30, 1918

HIS HIGHNESS THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.I.E., was in the Chair.

He was supported on the platform by the Hon'ble Colonel Sir Hugh Daly, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., British Resident in Mysore, Sir Leslie Miller, Kt., Mr. P. B. Warburton, M.A., I.C.S., and the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M. A., M.R.A.S.

The proceedings opened with the Chairman calling upon the Secretary, Mr. F. R. Sell, M.A., to read the Report.

THE REPORT

The year under review has been eminently satisfactory. Our membership—11 Honorary, 115 resident and 144 mofussil members—though short of our expectations, shows that the Mythic Society continues to enlist the sympathies of a large intellectual elite. Yet there are still in Bangalore and the Mysore Province a number of gentlemen whose names we are very anxious to see on our rolls as it would be a source of intense gratification to us to feel that our Society has the practical good will of all interested in and proud of Mysore.

Our success in Bangalore and Mysore we attribute to the sympathies His Highness the Maharaja, His Highness the Yuvaraja, the other members of the Royal Mysore Family, the Honourable the British Resident and the Mysore Durbar have

always so kindly shown towards the Society. We are happy to avail ourselves of this opportunity to beg them to accept the expression of our heartfelt gratitude.

Outside Mysore the Mythic Society is perhaps not as well known as it might be. We should welcome members and contributions from the whole of Southern India and we rely on our present members to help us to realize that ideal.

Eight meetings have been held during the course of the year, a new feature of which has been lively and instructive discussions bearing on the paper read at the meeting. In this connexion we may be permitted to remind the resident members that a large audience is an encouragement for the lecturer, renders the discussion more interesting and throws more light on the subject of the lecture. It is feared that too many members are content with reading the papers in our journal, forgetting that by not attending the meetings they lose the chance of taking part in the discussion which often is a necessary complement of the paper. Each resident member is expected to do something for the welfare of the Society, to make it more widely known, to propose new members for election, to contribute papers and articles, or get his friends to do so, and if he has no time or inclination to do more, at least to encourage Lecturers by regular attendance at the meetings.

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A., one of our Branch Secretaries, has arranged for an interesting programme for the coming session.

Our finances, as the statement of the Treasurer of the Society will show, are on a sound footing—thanks this year to the princely donation of Rs. 1,000 made by His Highness the Yuvaraja towards our funds. The only regrettable feature is the amount of subscriptions due which total up to over Rs. 500, rather a large outstanding for a Society like ours, but we trust that this reminder will be sufficient to bring in all the arrears of subscriptions.

One of our former Joint Secretaries, Mr. S. Krishnasawmy Aiyangar, M.A., M.R.A.S., has taken up the chair of Professor of Indian History and Archaeology in the Madras University, but we have asked him to continue his interest in the Society by editing our journal which he has kindly consented to do and our former editor, Mr. F. R. Sell, M.A., has acted in his place as Joint Secretary.

The Mysore Durbar have taken into favourable consideration the question of a habitation for the Society, and we have every hope that our next General Meeting will be held in a Hall of our own. An application has been made to the Imperial Government for a free gift to the Society of all the Government publications bearing on the History and Archaeology of India. Our application has been kindly recommended by the Honourable the British Resident, and we trust that it will be granted, helping us thereby to form the nucleus of a Library for the Mythic Society.

The New Year's Honours List contained the names of one of our Honorary Presidents, His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore and of our working President. We know that those Honours have been conferred for services to the Empire but as both are intimately connected with our Society we beg to be permitted, in our humble sphere, to offer them once more our heartiest congratulations with the hope that they may live long to enjoy the well merited Honours conferred upon them by His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor.

In conclusion we are happy to record the expression of our gratitude to the Lecturers and contributors who during the year have helped to make our meetings and our journal as successful and as instructive as both have been.

The Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., moved the adoption of the Report as follows:—

YUVARAJA SAHIB,—My first duty this evening, duty which it gives me the greatest pleasure to perform, is to welcome Your Highness to our meeting. This new proof of your practical interest in the Mythic Society is an honour which we deeply appreciate and also a precious encouragement for the President and members. Your Highness' presence here this evening will give, we feel certain, a new impetus to our Society and further, more especially in Mysore, the work the Society has set itself to do.

Yuvaraja Sahib, Sir Hugh Daly, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Secretary's Report, you will all agree with me, is, like the work it purports to review, eminently satisfactory.

The membership of the Society is not yet what we expect to make it, but, as it increases steadily year after year, it is only a question of patience for us to count among our members all those, who at least in Mysore, are interested in the objects of the Society.

Three items of the Report are sure to be a source of gratification to the members: Our flourishing financial situation and the hope that, by this time next year, we shall have a Hall of our own, and that a beginning will have been made to provide the Society with a suitable Library. I take this opportunity to thank once more the Royal House of Mysore, the Honourable the British Resident, and the Mysore Durbar for the help they have given and are giving us in those three different directions.

As a duty of gratitude the Society will continue to devote a large part of its energies to the study of Mysore.

At the last annual meeting, if you remember, I made an appeal in favour of Southern India, and expressed the opinion that if we want to know India, the India of the Hindus I mean, it is in the study of the south, that we must look for that knowledge and even then no time is to be lost. The north has undergone changes for nearly one thousand years, whilst the south, as far as manners and customs are concerned, is still practically the same, though even in the south a new India is fast coming into existence. But in spite of changes, archæological and historical researches, in a setting more appropriate to those studies, will be able to reveal to us, at least to a certain extent, the real India of old.

Narrowing down my appeal this year I make it in favour of the study of Mysore, the land we live in and the land we all love, for, apart from sentimental considerations, Mysore has distinct claims on the interest of the student of Indian History, Archæology and Philosophy as she is in some respects unique among the Provinces of India.

In proof of this assertion, which *we* all know is true, but which to one, who does not know Mysore, might savour of exaggeration, let me quote Mr. L. Rice in his preface to the second edition of the *Gazetteer of Mysore*.

'If there be any truth in the observation that small countries with diversified and distinctive physical characteristics have played the greatest part in the world's history, and given rise to its most distinguished men—Greece, Palestine, England and others being quoted as instances,—Mysore, it seems to me, may fairly claim a place in the category. Not only does she abound in the picturesque features of lofty mountains and primeval forests, of noble rivers and mighty cataracts, but—to mention only a few of the products specially pertaining to her—she yields by far the most gold of any country in India, and her treasure in the past, carried off to the north by Musalman invaders, may have found its way to Central Asia among the spoils of Tartar hordes; she is the peculiar home of the sandal and also of teak, a special haunt of the elephant, rears a famous and superior breed of horned cattle, supplies as a staple food of her people the nutrient grain of ragi, was the cradle in India and is still the chief garden for coffee cultivation. Thus in every department of the natural world she may claim some pre-eminence. In the fine arts she has produced marvellous examples of architecture and sculpture. In relation to humanity again she has been to the two greatest Hindu reformers a home, for the monastery of one, and an asylum to the other. Nearly every form of faith from Buddhism and Jainism to Islam, has here had its day as she is now known as having largely adopted and still strongly holding a special cult of native origin not conforming to Brahminism. The Malnad region of Mysore has been the birthplace of royal races dominant in the south—the Kadambas, the Hoysalas, and perhaps also the Vijayanagar Sovereigns. In modern times, the great general of the age, the Iron Duke, learned in the Malnad and wilds of Mysore, no less than in the plains of the Deccan, those lessons of warfare which enabled him to end the ambitious career of the subjugator of Europe, who once thought to make an ally of Mysore and to conquer the East. Waterloo may in one sense have been won in the playing fields of Eton, but it was Mysore that contributed to develop the genius of the commander who carried the day.'

These words were a revelation to me when I read them first and to them I may confess I owe the love and admiration I have ever since felt for Mysore. They have led me to study Mysore, to explore Mysore and to become an enthusiastic champion of Mysore.

Had the talent been given me or the time, it would have been the dream of my life to write a history of Mysore, for I believe that at the present stage a fairly complete History of Mysore could be written.

Unlike many other parts of India, Mysore has been several times in the course of the last two thousand years a self-contained and pretty well defined political entity, with indigenous dynasties, a language, a literature and a style of architecture of her own.

Leaving aside the legendary period we find Mysore prominent at the dawn of the History of India. Whatever may be said for or against the Great Mauryan Emperor, Chandragupta, abdicating to become a Jain and coming to die at Sravana Belgola, we are on firmer historical ground when we connect Mysore with Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka. Mysore may or may not be the Mahisamandala mentioned in his edict, but the fact that some of his inscriptions have been found in

the Malkalmuru Taluk shows clearly that if Mysore was not actually a part of his dominions it was at least, even in those early times, considered important enough for the Emperor to send missionaries to it and have some of his edicts engraved on Mysore rocks.

The first indigenous dynasty in Mysore were the Kadambas with their capital at Banavasi in the Sorab Taluk. This town must be of great antiquity as it is mentioned by Ptolemy and also by the Mahawamsa which names it as one of the places to which a *thera* was sent by Asoka.

Next we have the Gangas, the principal Jain Dynasty of the South, who ruled over the greater part of Mysore from the beginning of the Christian Era to the beginning of the eleventh century with their principal capital at Talkad.

But before the Wodeyars, the dynasty which shed the most brilliant lustre on Mysore, was that of the Hoysalas. Essentially Mysorean, the Hoysalas Dynasty could take its place among the most glorious dynasties of Mediæval India. Dwarasamudra, now known as Halebid, if we judge by its ruins, must have vied with the proudest and wealthiest capitals in India.

For several centuries after the disappearance of the Hoysalas, Mysore was merged into the mighty Vijayanagar Empire, with Viceroys at Seringapatam and Mulbagal.

The two centuries which followed the downfall of Vijayanagar saw the rise of the Polegars, those giants whose strongholds and fortresses challenge at the present day the admiration of the man enterprising enough to climb to their very summit.

It has been my good fortune to make the ascent of many of them and, to mention only a few of those eagles' nests, at Maddagiri, Pavagada, Ootradroog, Hulyadroog, I have paused to ask myself what kind of men were those old Mysoreans who could conceive and put into execution plans which would stagger architects of the present day. Their history would form another most fascinating chapter of the history of Mysore.

That interesting history would be continued through the Wodeyar dynasty, the crowning glory of Mysore, the dynasty, which has made our present Mysore the model Native State in India.

Enough of material has been collected in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, the Annual Reports of the Mysore Archæological Department, in old manuscripts and in some well written monographs to compile a continuous history of this most interesting province from the time of Asoka to that of our present revered Maharaja, His Highness Krishna Raja Wodeyar IV.

With chapters in bold relief on the Hoysala Princes, the Vijayanagar Viceroys, the Polegars, the Mahomedan Sultans and the Mysore Wodeyar names like those of Vishnuvardhana, Kempe Gauda, Jaga Deva Raya, Chikka Deva Raja, would emerge from obscurity and take the place which is due to them among the heroes famous in Indian history.

Meanwhile the Mythic Society has gathered some material which one day will prove most useful to the historian of Mysore. Our Editor, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., F.R.H.S., F.M.U., in several essays has thrown more light on some obscure periods of the Mysore history. The Rev. E. W. Thompson, M.A., has

already given us several papers bearing on that subject and has promised us another one for the coming session on the 'Siege of Bangalore,' Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., has prepared one on 'Some place names in Mysore,' the Rev. F. Goodwill one on 'The Principal Polegars' strongholds in the Province' and Mr. M. T. Narasima Aiyangar, B.A., M.B.A.S., one on 'Melkote.' So, as you see, Mysore history has a large part in our programme for the coming year.

If now we come to religion we find that again Mysore holds a prominent place. At Sravana Belagola we have one of the most illustrious seat of Jainism in India. Buddhism seems to have been flourishing here too from the time of Asoka's mission. There are references in early Pali writings to Buddhist scholarship in Karnataka and inscriptions mention an important Buddhist Matha down to 1090 A.D. at Balagami, the capital of the Banavasi country.

But it is with the rise of the new Hinduism, when Buddhism was on the decline and tottering to its fall, that Mysore is more especially concerned.

We all know that there are three main systems of philosophy connected with the Hinduism of the present day. The Advaita, the Dvaita and the Visishtadvaita; all other schools founded on the Vedanta are each of them an off-shoot or a subdivision of one or the other of those three main systems. Now it may come as a surprise to many to hear that Mysore or the Kanarese country has been, more than any other part of India, intimately associated with those three systems. Sankarachariar, the preacher of the Advaita had his Matha at Sringeri, Ramanujachariar, the preacher of the Visishtadvaita, founded the Melkote Matha, and the Dvaita was taught first at Udipi in the Canarese country by Madhvachariar. So, Karnataka has been the cradle of the present Indian religious thought. Mr. Narasimha Aiyangar's paper on Melkote will bear on Sri Ramanuja's system of philosophy. Mysore has also adopted and still largely retains the Lingayet form of religion which was for centuries the religion of the Mysore and Coorg Rajas, a form of religion which would repay a deeper study than has hitherto been bestowed upon it.

With regard to Hindu Architecture, Fergusson recognizes six different styles: The Buddhist, Jaina, Himalayan, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Chalukyan, and considers the one he mis-names 'Chalukyan' as the most perfect. Well, the so-called Chalukyan Style, is Mysorean, it is the style of the Hoysalas and, if we leave aside the gorgeous and wonderful monuments of Mogul Architecture in the north, it is to Mysore we must come to find the gems of Hindu Architecture.

Lately, an eminent French Savant, who is a member of our Society, Professor G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, has written the History of the Dravidian Architecture in the extreme South. Might not some other member of the Society, Mr. R. Narasimachar, M.A., the Officer in charge of Archæological Researches in Mysore for instance, give us a History of the Hoysala Architecture on the same lines as Professor Dubreuil?

When I have mentioned that in Mysore are found the largest stone statue in the world—the Colossal Jain Statue of Gomateswara 70 ft. in height at Sravana Belgola—the Gersoppa Falls which though inferior to Niagara in volume, far excels the celebrated Falls of the New World in height—the Kolar Gold Fields, the largest of its kind in India, I think, I shall have made out my point that Mysore occupies in

India a place of real prominence and ought to be better known by the student of India.

Much indeed has been done in that direction: Wilks' History of Mysore and Mr. L. Rice's Works will always remain monuments to the greatness of Mysore. Much continues to be done in the field of Ethnography by Mr. H. V. Nanjundiah, C.I.E., and of Archæology and History by Mr. R. Narasimachar, M.A., but much more remains to be done and I hope our Society, in its humble sphere, will continue to take its share in building up an enduring monument to the glory of Mysore.

The field is large and fertile. Whether it be Mysore History, Mysore Archæology, Mysore Architecture, or Mysore the cradle of the three principal systems of the Vedanta or even the natural beauties of Mysore, I can promise the sympathetic student of Mysore that his labours will be well repaid if he be conscious that he is contributing in making Mysore better known in India as well as in Europe.

It has already been pointed out that Mysore had a share in Waterloo as having been a training ground for Wellington. She will have a more glorious share still in the coming final victory, of which we are all so completely certain, for to help to win it she has not spared either her money or her blood.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, it only remains for me to wish the Society increased prosperity, to express the hope that it will always be worthy of Mysore, the land of its birth, and to move that the Report for 1914-15 be adopted.

In seconding the adoption of the Report Mr. Warburton remarked that as Father Tabard generally managed to exhaust any subject before a meeting there was really very little left for him to say. The financial state of the Society was a very satisfactory feature, for their funds were better by Rs. 1,100 than last year, mainly due to the generosity of His Highness the Maharaja and the Yuvaraja Sahib. He made an appeal to the members to increase their number, and, in referring to the prospect of having a habitation provided for themselves, he remarked that it was up to them to advertise the attractions of the Society. He had much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the report, which was then carried.

In proposing the re-election of the Rev. Father Tabard to the Presidentship for another year, Sir Leslie Miller made one of his very humorous speeches which was punctuated with applause. The proposal he said was in the nature of a formality; it was in fact a superfluous proposition. For instance, if he (the speaker) were to propose any other member as President, they would all say 'we want Father Tabard.' He would not therefore think of suggesting any other name so long as Father Tabard was willing to occupy the President's chair. In point of fact Father Tabard might well adopt the words of one of the Kings of his country who, in a certain circumstance, had exclaimed 'The State? I am the State!' Similarly, Father Tabard might well say: The Mythic Society? I am 'the Mythic Society!' (Laughter).

No other remarks were necessary to commend the resolution to the meeting, but there were a few reasons why Father Tabard should be re-elected. Firstly there was his fine patriarchal appearance. Sir Leslie ventured to think that Father Tabard always had the learned look which fitted him for the position of President of a learned Society. No other could fill the position with so much distinction (Applause).

It was customary with many Societies when about to elect a new leader for him to stand up and propound some plan of campaign or scheme of work. Father Tabard had very cleverly done this in his farewell address. Having heard that learned and eloquent discourse, no one would be able to say that he was a mere figurehead. On the other hand his energies as President were only equalled by his persuasive tongue. And then there was the Society's Quarterly Journal which provided stimulating literary refreshment not only for the learned authors themselves, but also to Philistines like himself! (Laughter.) His (the President's) was also the duty of the principal heckler, to start discussions and draw out the lecturers, and they all knew how well Father Tabard performed that part of his office. In a word they would be doing by far the very best thing in re-electing Father Tabard. (Applause.)

Dr. Achyuta Rao in seconding the motion also paid a warm tribute to the activities of the President.

The proposal was carried unanimously.

Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A., then proposed the following names for the new Executive Committee for the ensuing year. He alluded briefly and pithily to its composition and referred in passing to the good work of Mr. F. J. Richards, I.C.S. On being seconded by the Rev. F. Goodwill who also spoke a few well chosen words, the motion was carried *nem con.*

The Committee now consists of

President—Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.A.S.

Vice-Presidents—Mr. P. B. Warburton, I.C.S.; Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs, C.S.I., B.A.; Justice Sir Leslie Miller, Kt., I.C.S.; Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A.; Mr. F. J. Richards, M.A., M.B.A.S., I.C.S.

Editor—Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., M.B.A.S., F.R. HIST. S., F.M.U.

Honorary Treasurer and Secretary—Mr. F. R. Sell, M.A.

Assistant Treasurer and Secretary—Mr. K. Devanathachariar, B.A.

Branch Secretaries.—For Ethnology, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rau, B.A., B.L.; for History, Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A.; for Religions, Mr. J. Kann, B.Sc.

Committee.—The above ex-officio, and Dr. P. S. Achyuta Rao, Messrs. P. Sampat Aiyangar, M.A., R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.B.A.S., E. P. Metcalfe, B.Sc., A. E. Bull, K. Chandy, B.A., S. Shamanna, B.A., and N. Madhava Rao, B.A.

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

The Yuvaraja, rising amidst applause, then said:—

SIR HUGH DALY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—When I was asked to preside at this evening's function, I should confess, I felt not a little diffident in accepting the invitation, both for fear of excluding from this chair a person better able to fill it than myself and of disclosing my ignorance of the researches that the Society carries out, and if I accepted it, it was only owing to a sense of duty towards this Society which is trying to do so much to unravel to us the past glories of India and of Mysore in particular (Applause).

The Report shows us the satisfactory progress of the Society. Its work during the past year has been good and its membership not bad. Its finances are sound and

further it has every promise of entering on a more prosperous career this year with an increased balance at its credit, with its own Hall and its own Library. I am glad to state here that His Highness' Government will be able to place a suitable site at the disposal of the Society for building its Hall (Great Applause).

It is not generally interesting, or at least I feel so, to listen to the dry catalogue of archæological discoveries, but under such exponents of the Science as Father Tabard, you have seen how the results of these researches can be woven into charming and instructive narratives. The Rev. Father Tabard has traced for us the history and greatness of Mysore under the various dynasties and has shown in Mysore the homes of the schools of Hindu philosophy and a distinctive style of architecture second in India only to the Moghul. He has created for some of us a new interest in Mysore; though we were vaguely conscious of it ourselves, yet he has made us feel more proud of our beloved country. May we hope that he will have the leisure as fully, as he has the talent and materials for giving us in a fairly complete form the interesting story of this dear land of ours (Applause).

I cannot consider myself to be very much qualified to speak on any of the subjects falling within the scope of the Society's work and anything concerning them coming now from my lips after what you have already heard to-day would, I fear, fall flat and jejune on your ears, but with respect to the Mysore history now told us, I feel I may perhaps say this much. You have just heard it quoted to you from Mr. Rice's *Gazetteer* that in its natural gifts and physical environment Mysore has not been inferior to Greece, Rome or Great Britain, and if we are the creatures of our surroundings, if it was their mountains, rivers, forests and soil that wrought the greatness of Athens, Rome or Carthage, we may well ask how it was that Mysore, similarly gifted, did not attain to any of the high civilization of those memorable States? The explanation seems to me to lie in the fact that having shared the general curse of India we have never had the security which these small City States enjoyed and were at no time left in sufficient peace to work out our civilization in full. But times have changed now and thanks to *Pax Britannica*, war and strife have almost become fables in India. Mysore had no doubt, as the Rev. Father Tabard has shown us, a glorious past, one that makes us proud of ourselves and of our country, but it is idle to live on mere past tradition, and nothing should satisfy us short of attaining and continuing in that high eminence of learned Greece, mighty Rome, and industrial England of to-day. Under the ægis of Great Britain, with far greater facilities at hand than the ancients worked under, and with physical conditions especially calculated towards the greatness of the country it should be possible for us all and behoves us all to strive and become the true sons and inheritors of the rich, the beautiful, the historical, the philosophical and the self-contained Mysore. (Applause.)

It only remains for me to thank the Society for the honour done to me to-day and for its appreciation of the sympathy and support that His Highness and myself may have lent to it. I should here say how much we all appreciate and thank Sir Hugh Daly for the uncommon amount of interest and sympathy he has displayed towards the Institution recognizing from the beginning what useful work there was before the Society. His good will for and his kindly interest in the Society will be

long remembered and ever associated with it. Before resuming my seat I hope I may add on behalf of us all here that we fully trust the Mythic Society will in the coming years secure the co-operation and sympathy of its members in a fuller measure, and gain that further publicity and support it deserves (Great Applause).

Dewan Bahadur J. S. Chakravarti, in moving a vote of thanks to His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore for presiding at the annual general meeting of the Mythic Society spoke as follows :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

By courtesy of the Reverend and Revered President, and of the Council, the most pleasant duty now devolves on me of moving a hearty and respectful vote of thanks to His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore for the favour and the great honour which he had done us by coming to us this evening and presiding at this annual general meeting of the Mythic Society of Bangalore. It seems to me very auspicious and exceedingly appropriate that at this important meeting of the Mythic Society we should have as our Chairman a distinguished scion of a royal and ancient line which can be traced backwards through hundreds of years in the History of India until it loses itself in the mythic legends of the dim and distant past. Some one has said of the great poet Tennyson that if he had not been born the greatest poet of his age he would have become the greatest critic of his age. It may be said with equal truth of our illustrious Chairman of this evening that if he had not been born a prince and therefore a natural leader of the people he would nevertheless have become a great popular leader by his own merits and by his numerous qualities of head and heart (Cheers).

Gentlemen, I am not a believer in the familiar and oft-quoted lines, viz. 'East is East and West is West and the twain shall never meet'. On the other hand, I firmly believe that with the advent of Englishmen in India East and West *have* met very effectively and to good purpose—they have met under divine dispensation and have met never to part (Applause)—I believe that this union is for the supreme good of the East as well as of the West and that it is fraught with momentous and most beneficial consequences for the progress of civilization of humanity. I have firm faith in the ultimate result of this meeting of Oriental abstraction and Occidental practical energy, of this union of spirituality on one side and material advancement on the other, of this fusion of what is highest in the philosophy of the soul with what is noblest in the science of the universe. Out of such harmonious union of the East and the West will arise the true future ideal of man—an ideal which will be a real image, as far as finite thing can resemble the infinite, of God who made mankind. On the solid foundation of this union of the East and the West will rise the glorious fabric of human civilization for the future—a civilization which will be fairer and more lasting than any which we have yet seen and which will not be blown away like a house of cards by the

hurricane of lust nor washed away by torrents of human blood. The closer this union of the East and the West, the more thoroughly Englishmen and Indians come to know each other, the more complete the intellectual and moral fusion of the two races, the sooner will that ideal be realized and that civilization attained. Societies like the Mythic Society of Bangalore which act as interpreters of the East to the West, help in their humble way the attainment of some aspects of this great object as they are means by which such mutual knowledge, such union and such fusion of the East and the West are facilitated; and persons like our illustrious Chairman and his august brother our revered and dearly loved Maharaja are, as we all know, amongst the finest fruits of harmonious combination of all that is good and beautiful in Eastern culture with all that is high and noble in Western civilization. It is also for this reason that I consider it particularly appropriate that the chair should have been taken by His Highness the Yuvaraja at this meeting.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not wish to take up more of your time at this late hour but once again in the name of all of us I would convey to His Highness our grateful thanks for his most welcome presence amongst us this evening, for his munificent donation which has been announced by the President and for his wise words of sympathy and encouragement (Loud cheers).

Mr. J. G. Tait, M.A., seconded the proposition, which was carried by acclamation.

MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE *Statement of Account from July 1, 1914 to June 30, 1915*

RECEIPTS	Amount		EXPENDITURE		Amount	
	Rs.	A. P.			Rs.	A. P.
By opening balance	2,485	11 5	To Printing Charges and Stationery ..		796	13 6
" Interest on Fixed Deposits ..	108	8 0	" Contingent charges as Rail charges, cooly on Journals ..		16	13 3
" Members' Subscription—			" Clerks' fees ..		60	0 0
Resident	566	2 0	" Postage ..		83	3 0
Mofussil	180	0 0				
" Sale of Journals	45	13 0	To Balance ..		3,422	5 8
" Donation from His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore	1,000	0 0				
Total	4,379	2 5	Total ..		4,379	2 5

Balance Statement

ASSETS	Amount		LIABILITIES	Amount	
	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.
Balance of Cash with the Treasurer	3,422	5 8	Credit Balance	3,976	5 8
Subscriptions due	554	0 0			
Total	3,976	5 8	Total ..	3,976	5 8

Note.—Value of Journals on hand:—Volumes I to IV and V, 1—3 = 4,090 at 12 annas each = Rs. 3,087-8-0.
 Number of Members:—Honorary 11, Resident 115, Mofussil 130, Subscribers 13, Student 1.

BANGALORE.

F. R. SELL,
Honorary Treasurer.

THE EVOLUTION OF CASTES

BY R. SHAMA SASTRI, ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S.

PART I

VARIOUS theories have been propounded to explain the origin of caste. In the first place a Vedic poet himself has put forward his own favourite theory of the divine origin of castes to explain the natural and yet inexplicable divisions of the people that he saw around him. The theory is found summed up in the famous *Puruṣa Sūkta* hymn to which I shall have occasion to refer later on. Then come the evolutionary theories of Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Mr. Nesfield, M. Senart and Sir H. Risley, a comprehensive summary of which is found in the first volume of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.¹ The conclusion that has been arrived at on the consideration of all these theories seems to be discouraging and is thus stated :—

‘The origin of caste is from the nature of the case an insoluble problem. We can only frame more or less plausible conjectures, derived from the analogy of observed facts. The particular conjecture now put forward is based—first, upon the correspondence that can be traced between certain caste gradations and the variations of physical type ; secondly, on the development of mixed races from stocks of different colour ; and thirdly, on the influence of fusion.’

I venture to state that this admitted inability to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem is due to want of consideration of such literary works as have a direct bearing on the subject. Instead of being a prehistoric subject, as is commonly believed, caste is a historic subject and its origin and development appear to be quite recent. India had no history of its own till English scholars undertook the trouble of making researches and constructed a tentative history of India, which, though already an appreciable and bulky one, is still growing. Caste, being an Indian subject, has no history of its own and appears therefore to be prehistoric. But materials to construct a history of caste are abundant enough and are scattered here and there in the vast Sanskrit literature of India. They are the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Sūtras, the Smritis, the Purānas, Kāvya and Commentaries. A careful

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. i, p. 348,

survey of this vast literature with no bias and prepossessed ideas will not fail to reveal the various phases through which caste has passed and crystallized itself into its present form. But the only difficulty that appears to be insurmountable is that of chronology without which nothing worth the name of a history can be related or written. Though a reliable Indian chronology must remain a dream at least for the present, still epigraphical investigations have made it possible to ascertain a number of leading historic events of known dates and to fix the chronology of the rest relatively to the former. Thus Buddha, Chandragupta Maurya, Aśoka, Patanjali, Āryabhaṭṭa, Harṣavardhana, Bāṇa, and other historic personages of known dates have been taken as finger-posts or mile-stones pointing to other persons or events as being either prior or posterior in the vast wilderness of Indian chronology. The date of Buddha's death being fixed at 483 B.C., the initial point of Indian history may be taken to lie at 3100 B.C. as advocated by Professor Jacobi and other scholars, or at 2700 B.C. according to Messrs. Bloomfield and Pargiter, and other scholars, or at 1500 B.C., as believed by the followers of Max Müller. The kings, genealogically arranged in the Purāṇas as having preceded Buddha and numbering about 130 in the solar line beginning with Manu, may be regarded as other mile-stones vaguely fixed in the space of about 2,600 years prior to Buddha's death, with an intervening distance of twenty years on an average between any two kings. Thus to facilitate the construction of a tentative history of caste, Paraśurāma, the contemporary of Viśvāmitra and of Rāma, the hero of Rāmāyāna and seventieth among the kings of the solar line may be credibly placed at about 1700 B.C. This is the date of Rāma and Paraśurāma, at which I have arrived according to my own theory of Gavām Ayana, the Vedic Era. This is the date at which Mr. Pargiter has also arrived in his *Earliest Indian Traditional History*. This is what he says :

'If we may estimate the date of the great Bhārata battle as 1000 B.C. approximately, Devāpi would be placed about a century earlier. If we further form a chronological estimate from the genealogical table in *J.B.A.S.* 1910, pp. 26-9 (and we have no other basis to work upon), Viśvāmitra may be placed, at a very moderate computation, about seven centuries earlier than the battle.¹

Those who are inclined to follow the Purāṇas and give Daśaratha and other kings such fabulously long duration of life as 60,000 years may easily do so by putting the starting point at a still remoter date, while those who follow the other extreme by crowding the 130 kings into the space of about 1,000 years can likewise satisfy themselves by lessening the average interval from one king to another.

¹ *J.B.A.S.*, April, 1914.

When there is no necessity to trace the course of a movement by decades or centuries, then it is usual to speak of such movements or events by literary periods extending over a number of years. The Vedic period extending from 3100 or 1500 B.C. to 1000 B.C., the Sūtra as well as the Puranic periods extending from 1000 B.C. to about A.D. 200, or 300, the Buddhistic period extending from 500 B.C. to about A.D. 600 are other chronological devices, availed of by scholars when no chronological precision is required.

So far as the determination of the priority and posteriority of events connected with the development of caste is concerned, advantage may also be taken of the huge Yuga theory of Purāṇic writers, which, though unreliable from a precise chronological point of view, yet seems credible with reference to the transformation of customs from age to age.

Before proceeding to deal with the subject, it is necessary to distinguish between a caste and a class. A caste is an isolated community of families or group of families, all of which trace their descent to one of the seven or eighteen Rishis and have no social intercourse, such as inter-marriage and interdining outside the group, while a class indicates a set of people, grouped according to their occupation or profession but with no social barriers whatever with regard to inter-marriage and interdining with other sets of people of different professions. Europe has no castes, because the different classes, such as the priests, the warriors, the traders, and the agriculturists, to speak of the four chief classes corresponding to the Indian castes, are at liberty to intermarry and interdine with each other.

From this it may be surmised that caste is not a social institution of Indo-European origin. Had it existed during the Indo-European period, i.e. before the original stock of the Aryan people had left its original settlement, wherever it might have been, that distinction would have left traces among the Greeks, the Romans, and the other European branches of the Indo-European race. It is true that though ready like the ancient Hindus to marry a woman of humbler origin and to eat the food prepared by a man of lower birth, neither the Greeks nor the Romans allowed the plebeians either to marry their daughters or to prepare food for their funeral feasts.¹ But this is evidence of vanity of social position or pride of birth verging upon caste, and not of caste in itself; for in the same caste even among the caste bound Hindus of the present day it is usual for a man of higher social position to decline to give his daughter in marriage to, and to sit at his meals in company with, a man of lower rank,—a practice of everyday occurrence with no implication of a caste within a caste or subcaste. It follows therefore that caste is a social institution of distinctly Indian origin. In support of this fact, it may be cited that Vedic India like Europe knew no such thing as

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, p. 340.

caste. This is really a bold statement to make before the orthodoxy of India, who, following the Smritis of the Buddhistic period, attribute the origin of castes to the Creator himself and quote the famous lines of the *Puruṣa Sūkta* hymn in support of their assertion. Still nothing in the history of India can be truer than the absence of caste in India during the Vedic period. The passage that appears to refer to the immemorial origin of castes in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* hymn can be explained, nay, must necessarily be explained as a metaphorical statement showing the relative superiority of classes to one another. That from the beginning of the Vedic period down to the middle of the Sūtra or of the Buddhistic period, the words Brāhmanas, Kṣatras or Kṣatriyas, Viśas or Vaiśyas, and Śūdras meant classes rather than rigidly isolated castes, is easily proved from what is stated in the *Srautasūtrā* of Drāhyāyana and in the Purāṇas regarding the function of priests and warriors. While describing the Daśapeya sacrifice,—a sacrifice in which ten priests have each to drink a cup of Soma juice,—the author of the *Srautasūtrā* quotes a rule laid down in the Brāhmaṇas that before drinking the Soma cups, the priests have to enumerate the names of ten ancestral fathers and mothers each and that if one, or many or all of them come across the names of a non-Brāhman woman in the series, they should leave her out, and beginning with the next Brāhman woman complete the number ten by repetition. The Sūtras in which the above rule is quoted run as follows:—

ते दश मातृर्दश पितृ नित्यत्वा-

ख्याय प्रसर्पेयुरा दशमातृषादिति ह्याह ।

यद्यत्राहणी मधिगच्छेयु व्री-

हण्यैवाभ्यासं दश संपूरयेयुः ।

अस्मरं तश्च यतस्मरेयुः ।

‘(The Brāhmaṇa) says that they should proceed (with their respective Soma cups) after enumerating the names of ten ancestral mothers and fathers up to the tenth man in the line.

If they come across the name of a non-Brāhman woman, they should begin with the next Brāhman woman and complete the number ten by repetition.

Those who do not remember (the names) should begin with the name they remember.’

From the above Sūtras, it is clear that Brāhmanas during the Vedic and Sūtra periods used to marry wives from non-Brāhman classes and that the sons begotten on such wives were free to exercise the functions of their

Brāhman fathers, whatever might be the class to which their mothers belonged by birth. I may draw your attention here to the interesting controversy metaphorically expressed in a number of Smritis and in the Arthasāstrā of Kauṭilya whether a son belonged to the father or begetter, or to the mother or to both. Drāhyāyana seems to have held the opinion that the son belonged to the begetting father and had a natural right to follow his profession.

We may now refer to what Gautama says in his *Dharmasūtra* (iv. 22-24) regarding the elevation or degradation of castes. It is as follows:—

‘In the seventh generation men obtain a change of caste, either being raised to a higher one or being degraded to a lower one.’ (iv. 22.)

‘The venerable teacher declares that this happens in the fifth generation.’ (iv. 23.)

The following is the translation by Georg Bühler of Haradatta’s Commentary on the above Sūtras:—

‘If a Savarna female, born of the Kṣatriya wife of a Brāhman, is married to a Brāhman, and her female descendants down to the seventh likewise, then the offspring which that seventh female descendant bears to her Brāhman husband is equal in caste to that of a Brāhman. In like manner, if a Savarna male, the son of a Brāhman and of his Kṣatriya wife, again marries a Kṣatriya wife and his male descendants down to the seventh likewise, then the offspring of that seventh male descendant is equal in caste to that of a Kṣatriya.’

This kind of elevation of castes seems to have existed more in theory than in practice, for as implied in Drāhyāyana Sūtras nobody seems to have cared to keep a genealogical list of ancestors to prove the succession of births either through the line of males or of females up to the seventh or fifth generation, as strictly laid down by Gautama and other Sūtra writers.¹ It is also not easy to say whether there were any court to award Brāhmanhood after obtaining necessary proofs about the purity of the family customs of the aspirants, or whether it was left to the option of individuals of reputed learning here and there to confer Brāhmanhood on deserved aspirants, as in the case of Satyakāma Jābala narrated in the *Chhāndogyaopaniṣad* (iv. 4). It appears, however, certain that whether this rule was strictly observed or not, it was not at all in existence prior to the Sūtra period (about 1000 B.C.), for a number of instances of the sons of Kṣatriya kings following the profession of Brāhmans before the Sūtra period is mentioned in the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas:—

‘The sons of Dhṛiṣṭa (about 3040 B.C.) though Kṣatriyas, became Brāhmans. The Rathītaras (2980 B.C.) are termed Brāhmans following the

¹ Book III, Chap VII; see also Manu, x. 69-72; also Gautama, ii. 6, 13, 6, Apastambā ii. 5, 11, 10-11; Manu, x. 64-72.

profession of Kṣatriyas.¹ The sons of Agniveśya, a king in the solar line (2790 B.C.) became Agniveśyāyana Brāhmins. Likewise the sons of Hārīta, the son of Yauvanāśva, are also termed Brāhmins with the profession of Kṣatriyas.² Also it is very well known to the readers of the Purāṇas that Māndhātṛi (2660 B.C.), Ambarīṣa, Purukutsa, and Hārīta are founders of Gotras and that Māndhātṛi himself is the author of a hymn in the Rīgveda. The sons of Medhādithi who was the son of Kaṇva (1700 B.C.), a king in the lunar line, followed the profession of Brāhmins. The Gārgyas, the sons of Garga, though Kṣatriyas by birth, became Brāhmins (1700 B.C.); and Kapi, the son of Urukṣaya, became also a Brāhmin.³ From Mudgala, the son of Haryaśva (1500 B.C.) descended the Maudgalya Brāhmins.⁴

From the above facts it is clear that it was only during the Sūtra period that some restriction was imposed on the freedom of the sons of non-Brāhmin women by a Brāhmin father in following the profession they liked. As we advance later and later in our survey of the Sūtra period, the restriction imposed upon the sons of non-Brāhmin wives of a Brāhmin father in following the profession of Brāhmins is found to become greater and greater; for in addition to the time-limit referred to above, difference in the division of inheritance based upon an invidious distinction between the sons of Brāhmin and non-Brāhmin wives of a Brāhmin father⁵ seems to have been introduced somewhere about the middle of the Sūtra period. As we approach the first or the second century of the Christian era, when the Manu and Yagnyavalkya Smritis seem to have been written down or recast, the prohibition of the marriage of a Sūdra women by a Brāhmin seems to have been introduced and brought into force;⁶ and during the end of the Purāṇic period (fourth or fifth century A.D.) even the custom of a Brāhmin marrying Kṣatriya and Vaiśya wives seems to have been given up, as being unfit to be observed during the so called Kali age.⁷

As in the case of inter-marriage, so in the case of interdining also, what was once a pleasant social function enjoyed in common by all the four classes seems to have come to be regarded as a sacrilegious custom and finally given up at the close of the Purāṇic period. That interdining among all the four classes was prevalent during the Vedic and the Sūtra periods, is evident from the following Sūtra passages:—

‘According to some, food offered by people of any caste, who follow the laws prescribed for them, except that of Sūdras, may be eaten.’⁸

‘In time of distress, even the food of a Sūdra, who lives under one’s protection for the sake of spiritual merit, may be eaten.’⁹

¹ Visnu, Book iv, 2.

² Ibid., Book iv, 3.

³ Ibid., Book iv, 19.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Gautama, xxxviii, 37; *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, Book iii.

⁷ Yagnya, i, 56.

⁸ Brihannārdiquoted in the *Nirṇayasindhu*, chap. iv.

⁹ Apastamba i, 6, 18, 13—14.

‘Food may be begged and accepted (by a Vedic student) from men of all castes, excepting the criminal and the fallen.’—Gautama ii, 35.

‘Bringing all he obtains to his teacher, he shall go begging with a vessel in the morning and in the evening, and he may beg from everybody except lowcaste people unfit for association with Aryas and the criminal.’ Apastamba i. 1, 3, 25.

Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas shall beg their food daily either in the houses of people of their respective classes or in the houses of people of all classes.’¹

‘A Vedic student may beg food from people of all the four classes, if he cannot get food in the first three.’²

‘He shall beg his food in the houses of only good Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas devoted to the observance of their respective duties; but in times of distress, he may beg his food from people of all the four classes.’³

‘The employment of a Sūdra in cooking and other works by Brāhmins should be avoided during the Kali age.’⁴

It is clear from the above quotations that the older the Sūtras, the fewer are the restrictions, and the later the Sūtras or Smritis, the greater is the number of restrictions imposed upon the observance of inter-marriage and interdining among all the four classes. It follows therefore that what are now called the four castes were during the Vedic period merely classes with freedom to change class-occupations and that during the Sūtra period restrictions in one form or other began to be imposed on inter-marriage, interdining, and change of classes and class-occupations to such an extent that towards the close of the Purāṇic period in the fifth century A.D. there appeared rigidly isolated castes in the place of the ancient classes. The prohibition in the Purāṇas of the observance during the so-called Kali age of certain customs that were admittedly observed during the previous ages corroborates the same fact. The customs that are prohibited for the Kali age are thus enumerated in the *Bṛhannāradya Purāṇa* quoted in the *Nirṇayasindhu* (Chap. iv):—⁵

अथ कलिवर्ज्यानि बृहन्नारदीये :—

समुद्रयातुस्स्वीकारः कमंडलु विधारणं ।

द्विजानामस वर्णासु कत्यासूपमयस्तथा ॥

देवरात्र सुतोत्पत्तिः सधुपर्के पशोर्वधः ।

मांसदानं तथाश्राद्धे वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्तथा ॥

¹ Quoted by Vaidyanātha in his *Varnāśramakāṇḍa*.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Quoted in the *Nirṇayasindhu*, IV.

⁵ Ibid.

दत्ताक्षतायाः कल्यायाः पुनर्दानं परस्य च ।

दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं नरमेवाश्वमेधकौ ॥

महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधश्च तथा मखः ।

इमान्धर्मान्कलियुगे वज्यानाहु र्मनीषिणः ॥

‘Then the customs prohibited for the Kali age are thus enumerated in the *Bṛihannāradiya* :—

Admission of seafarers back into the society ; the embracing of asceticism and the holding of a water vessel made of dry bitter gourd ; marriage of girls of other than their own class by men of the three upper classes ; the custom of deputing a brother to beget a son on the wife of his dead brother ; the slaughter of a cow on the occasion of the entertainment of a guest ; the use of flesh in ancestral ceremonies ; the embracing of the religious order or life of a hermit ; the remarriage of a widowed virgin maiden ; the observance of bachelorhood for a long time ; the performance of human and horse sacrifices ; the custom of making a long and difficult journey, courting death ; and the slaughter of a cow in sacrifice.’

The *Brahmapurāna*, as quoted in the Hemādri, includes drinking of liquor among the above prohibitions.

Again on the authority of Mādhavīya and Prithvīchandrodaya, the following customs are also forbidden during the Kali age :—

ब्राह्मणानां प्रवासित्वं मुखाग्निं धसनक्रया ।

बलात्कारादि दुष्टस्त्री संप्रहो विधिचोदितः ॥

यतेश्च सर्ववर्णेषु भिक्षचर्या विधानतः ।

ब्राह्मणादिषु शूद्रस्य पचनादि क्रियापि च ॥

‘The sojournment of Brāhmins ; smoking ; though sastraic, the taking back into the society of women outraged by force ; the custom of an ascetic begging his food from people of all the four classes ; and the employment of a Śūdra in cooking and other acts by Brāhmins and other high-class people.

With reference to the observance of these customs during the previous ages, i.e. evidently during the Vedic and the Buddhistic periods, Kamalākara says that the prohibition of the observance of these customs during the Kali age clearly implies the validity of their observance during the previous ages. It is clear therefore that all these customs and especially the customs of inter-marriage and interdining among the four classes, flesh-eating, the drinking of liquor, smoking, sea-voyage, remarriage of widows, and the employment of Śūdras as cooks in the houses of Brāhmins and other high class people were

in observance from 3100 B.C. down to 500 B.C. and that they disappeared one after another in the course of the six or seven centuries from 500 B.C. to the second century A.D., converting the four free classes into four or more rigid and isolated castes, until at last all of them became obsolete during the fifth century A.D. emboldening the Purāṇic writers of the times to declare that they were valid observances only in remote ages.

Now the questions that crop up are :—(1) Why did those customs disappear? (2) Why did they prove distasteful to our ancestors of the pre-Christian era, while all those customs and especially the customs of inter-marriage and interdining among all the four castes or classes, sea-voyage and remarriage of widows appear so dear to our heart? Surely there must have been a powerful cause or causes, discernible even to our eyes, causes that made these customs disagreeable to our ancestors, though they had been prevalent for a long time previously. The only thing on which we can lay our finger as a sure cause appears to me Buddhism and Buddhistic preaching allied with Jainism and the preaching of the Jainas. What did they preach? As known to many of you that are well acquainted with Buddhistic literature, they preached (i) celibacy and renunciation as opposed to marriage of many wives from various classes; abstemiousness as opposed to flesh and liquor; the vow of kindness to animals as opposed to animal sacrifices; the life of a nun in a nunnery as opposed to the remarriage of widows and a number of superfine ethical and philosophical doctrines as against the chanting of the Vedas. They condemned in one voice the innumerable Vedic animal sacrifices together with the flesh-eating which they entailed; the Soma libation together with the drink of intoxicating liquors to which the custom of Soma drinking led the Brāhmins; the niyoga or the custom of deputing some one to beget a son on another's wife together with the loose sexual morality which it involved; and the marriage of girls after puberty together with the evil consequences of unchastity, as clearly illustrated in the story of Satyakāma Jābāla, narrated in the Chhāndogyopaniṣad (iv, 4); and the remarriage of women whose husbands had long gone abroad or had died, together with the sexual incontinence which those loose marriages gave rise to, as condemned by Amitagati in his *Dharmaparīkṣā*.

The story of Satyakāma Jābāla which illustrates not only the loose sexual morality of women of the pre-Buddhist period, but also the ease with which young men of those days could adopt any profession they liked is thus narrated in the Chhāndogyopaniṣad (iv, 4) :—

‘Satyakāma, the son of Jābāla, addressed his mother and said: ‘I wish to become a *Brāhmachārīn* (religious student), mother, of what family am I?’

‘She said to him: “I do not know, my child, of what family thou art.

In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant (waiting on the guests in my father's house), I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jābāla by name, thou art Satyakāma. Say thou art Satyakāma Jābāla."

"He, going to Gautama Haridrumata, said to him : 'I wish to become a *Brahmachārin* with you, sir. May I come to you, sir?'"

'He said to him : "of what family are you my friend?"'

'He replied : "I do not know, sir, of what family I am." I asked my mother, and she answered : "In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jābāla by name, thou art Satyakāma". "I am therefore Satyakāma Jābāla, sir."'

'He said to him : no one but a true Brāhmana would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, friend, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth.'

Regarding the condemnation of widow-remarriage and other old Brāhmanic customs by the Jainas, the following verses, purporting to be the speech of an imaginary character travelling in the aerial regions, appear in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* of Amitagati, a Jaina writer, who, as stated by himself in the introduction to the work, lived in the year 1070 of Vikramaśaka = A.D. 1014:—

माता विवाह्यमाना स्ता वरेणान्येन वीक्षिता ।

विनिवेद्य स्वसंबंधं मया पृष्टास्तपोधनाः ॥

अचक्षत न दोषोऽस्ति परेणास्या विवाहने ।

द्रौपद्याः पंचभतीरः कथ्यन्ते यत् पांडवाः ॥

जनन्यास्तव को दोषस्तत् भर्तृद्वये सति ।

एकदा परिणीताऽपि विपन्ने दैवयोगतः ॥

भर्तृयक्षत योनिस्त्रो पुनस्संस्कार मर्हति ।

प्रतीक्षेताष्ट वर्षाणि प्रसूता वनिता सती ॥

अप्रसूता चत्वारि प्रोषिते सति भर्तृरि ।

पंचखेषु गृहीतेषु कारणे सति भर्तृषु ॥

न दोषो विद्यते स्त्रीणां व्यासादीनामिदं वचः ।

'When I saw my (widowed) mother being wedded to another, I narrated my relationship with her and asked the pious men : "Pray tell me whether there is no sin in her being married to another."

"When it is said that Draupadi had the five sons of Pāṇḍu as her husbands, where is sin for thy mother, if she has two husbands." The husband being dead by misfortune, the maiden, though once betrothed, deserves the rite of marriage consecration for a second time. The woman that has brought forth a child has to wait eight years, while a maiden should wait (before marrying another) only four years, if the husband has gone abroad. If second husbands are married for reasons mentioned in the five enumerated cases, there is no guilt for the women, as stated by Vyāsa and others.'

While thus thousands of Jaina and Buddhistic priests, living a pure celibate life without flesh-eating and liquor-drinking, were incessantly preaching against social and religious customs, which appeared evil, in the light of their new code of morality customs which have now again put on an attractive garb in the sight of many of us, it was by no means unnatural the Brāhmins of those days could not help giving up the observance of those and other condemned customs and passing unconsciously into rigid caste folds. It is easy to perceive that if the Brahmins of the Gupta period ceased to continue to observe the long-established custom of marrying wives from the three lower classes, it was not from any intention on their part to preserve the purity of their blood, for it was already tainted and saturated with that of the other classes. It appears to be mainly an act of self-preservation against the charge of sexual intemperance brought by the Jaina and Buddhist monks. It is also easy to perceive that if they discontinued the immemorial custom of eating flesh and drinking liquor along with the employment of flesh-eating people as cooks in their households, it was not from any love of vegetarianism, but mainly from a determined effort to avoid the charges of intemperance and cruelty to animals brought against them by the Buddhists. Thus the passing of the Brāhmins from class life into caste life was neither a divine command nor a phenomenon brought about suddenly under the influence of a magic wand of a sage or a number of sages or Smiriti writers. It may, on the other hand, be safely asserted that it was brought about against the will of the Brāhmins themselves; for it demands a good deal of self-denial to give up the pleasures of the bed and the table. As a compensation for this self-denial, the reformed or reforming Brāhmins apparently perceived a decided advantage accruing to themselves; for that reform moved a death blow to the existence of Buddhism itself. The reformed Brāhmanism which included in itself all the ethical and philosophical tenets of Buddhism in its Mahāyāna¹ form with the restoration in addition of the authority of the ancient Vedas and Vedic sacrifices together with the Purāṇas and Purāṇic gods and the Tantras and the Tāntric gods, seems to have been hailed with a sigh of relief

¹ *Early History of India*, third edition, p. 302.

by the common people, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras who seem to have disliked the dry and atheistic, though highly moral, religion of Buddha. 'It demanded,' says Mr. W. Crooke, 'from its followers a standard of morality much in advance of their stage of culture. It involved the discontinuance of sacrifice, and of the myriad methods by which the Hindu has ever tried to win the favour or avert the hostility of his gods. It abolished such a vague entity as Brahma, into whom every Hindu hopes to be absorbed, and it substituted Nirvāṇa, or extinction, as the end of all things.'¹

Thus with the introduction of flesh and liquor as articles of diet not condemned for the common people, the Vaiśyas and Śūdras seem to have formed themselves into separate castes, following the Brāhmins.

As regards the Kṣatriyas, there seems to be a long hidden history, attended with bloody revolution.

But as I have already taken a good deal of your time, I reserve that theme for another occasion.

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, p. 412.

THE TEMPLE OF SRI KUMARASWAMI AND SOME OF ITS LEGENDS

BY M. GOPALASWAMI MUDALIAR, ESQ.

THIS ancient temple is situated about six miles from Sandur, a native state in the Bellary District, in a most picturesque valley surrounded by several ranges of hills. The Raja of Sandur is its hereditary trustee and the deity owns as many villages as the Raja himself and the whole estate is managed by his Dewan aided by a Devastānam Committee composed of paid clerks. The normal annual income of the temple amounts to Rs. 12,000, a year and the abnormal income once in three years consists of the tolls levied on each pilgrim who visits the 'God' and that amounts to about Rs. 30,000. At one time, in that valley, where the temple is situated, there must have been more than one populous village but now there is none and the temple with its various adjuncts is the only place where people live. These villages have evidently disappeared like some others in the plains near about Sandur on account of its malaria and other ills attendant thereon. There is a large establishment maintained in the temple. All Brahmanas who visit the temple are fed at its expense for one day while Gosayees and other wandering devotees who visit it are given either food or rations for three days. There are several *Mantapams*, some of them in much disrepair, which can accommodate these pilgrims.

In order to go to this temple, one has to alight at Tornagal station on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway (narrow gauge) which is about twenty miles from Bellary and from this place begins a journey in a cart or tonga across the mountain slopes for a distance of fifteen miles before one reaches Sandur, where it would be most convenient to halt for rest and food. There is a dāk bungalow of the Raja and a beautiful *Chattram* built by the late Dewan, Dewan Bahadur Kothanda Rama Naidu, whose uninterrupted regime of seventeen years during the Raja's minority is quite a record, and who on account of such continuity, has considerably improved the state in all its aspects. But what one is most remarkably struck with is the wide streets paved with broad stone at the borders, with clear and well defined side-drains built also of stone and slabs. There is not a single narrow alley or lane, and, what is still more surprising, the frontage of all the houses are

roofed with clean cut Mangalore red tiles, which give such a uniformity of view that the site is really lovely and reminds one of the descriptions of some of the rural areas in England. In these days of town-planning and town-planning experts, the study of the evolution of this small town is most interesting. The late Dewan with autocratic powers answerable to none except nominally to the political agent at Bellary, with undoubted reputation for honesty and single-minded devotion, used his powers well and evicting a number of people from their congested, ill-ventilated, unhealthy and unwholesome mud hovels, has housed them in well built and well ventilated, pucca houses of mud and stone. Being the sole authority there were not the tortuous methods of an enquiry, an estimate, a valuation, a proclamation and then a formal acquisition and demolition with heavy money compensation. New houses were made ready and those whose houses were to be demolished were asked to take house for house. Thus in a short space of five or six years dirty old Sandur was converted into a neat little town. There are some temples in and around Sandur which are well worth a visit. One of these is 'Vittoba' temple situated in the heart of the town and built by one of the Ranis with stones actually pilfered from the ruins of Vijayanagar temples (Hampi) about 200 years ago. It is a very neat temple, not of gigantic proportions, but evidently built with much care, for it is very symmetrical and impresses one at once with its æsthetic beauty. It has ample endowments. Next is the small little temple of Narasimha, two miles from Sandur, situated on a little eminence adjoining a big rock facing a gorge between two range of hills. The awe-inspiring solemnity and grandeur of the scene which one meets here beggars all description. If, to the natural grandeur of the same, is added the occasionally-to-be-seen rapid flow of the torrent below it will be indeed a sight for the gods. With this impressive scene before it the temple must have been built to glorify the name of the lord of the creation. The temple is a very small one and judging from its crudeness and insignificance it must have been a very old one built long before the era of the Vijayanagar dynasty. Unfortunately there are no inscriptions or any other written data anywhere to elucidate the period of its birth. There is only one stone to be found with an inscription on the road side at the entrance to the temple street. It bears the name of the Hindu year and the name of the donor of a certain land to the deity. The Hindu Calendar consists of a cycle of sixty years, and it will be difficult to ascertain which cycle is referred to, but the name of the donor indicates clearly that the temple must have been built long before the present dynasty of Sandur Rajas settled down there, for it refers to the chief of Gudukotai, who, local history informs us, was the master of these domains. The image in the temple consists of a big Saligrama of Narasimhavatara which tradition says is swayambu (self-born). There is a big street laid down in which there takes

place the procession of the car on the Narasimha Jayanti day. This temple is also under the management of the Devastānam Committee.

Five miles of the road leading to Kumaraswami temple is an open country road which is now being well laid out with metal and gravel by the present energetic and cultured Dewan. The carts can easily go over this, and when you reach the base of a hill, the road stops there, and an ascent begins round several hills covered with all kinds of jungle trees, in some instances sandal-wood trees predominating. The state and the temple are deriving much revenue from the sale of these trees, and the whole district is practically dependent upon this forest for its sandal-wood. At the base of this ascent, on the edge of a deep precipice of rock, in dense wood, is situated a small shrine with a small *Lingam* which is called 'Har Sankar.' This place is remarkable not only for its picturesque scenery, but also for a small waterfall which has been directed to fall through the mouth of a bull. It is a very small one, three to four inches in diameter, but, the fall is said to be incessant and the water is both cool and sweet and, after the tiresome journey, on a hot summer morning, is most refreshing and invigorating. There is a *Brahmachari* Brahmana priest here to worship the idol and he is a young man of four and twenty who is known to be living on herbs, fruits and coconuts, spending the greater part of his time in a big cave in the vicinity, studying the Vedas and Vedangas. His robustness and sturdiness surprise every one when it is learnt that he does not live on cooked rice. There is a certain halo about him which is bewitching.

The ascent from this place up to the temple is broad enough for carts to pass, but it is so straight and steep that it would be dangerous to attempt to travel by this means. Hence one has to trust himself either to his own limbs or that of some one else a man or a brute. A ride of three-quarters of an hour, with halts here and there, to recover one's breath is amply repaid by a magnificent panorama of the surrounding hills.

The temple is situated in the hollow of a series of hills converging to a particular point. The temple proper is evidently one of great antiquity judging from its structural appearance. It does not compare favourably with any of those superb and splendid buildings which were built by Vijayanagar or by Chola, Pandya, or Chalukya kings. In its architectural simplicity as well as in design of construction it reminds one of the 'Viṭṭoba' temple at the Paṇḍarapur in the Deccan. In intensity and volume of the devotion evinced by its devotees, it bears also the closest resemblance to that temple. Adjoining this, on the left, there is a temple dedicated to 'Pārvati', the mother of Sri Kumaraswami. There is a great contrast between these temples. The latter must be of much later origin, for its structure is grander and approximates to the later Dravidian architecture. Unlike the general run of Dravidian temples, it, however, is a curious mixture of Indo-Sarcenic

design for there is a dome on the inner shrine and a concave flooring of chunam over the flat stone roof of the central courtyard. The stones required for these temples must have been carted from the plains below, for the surrounding hills are not of stone but of hard solid gravel, covered with dense forests, and it is no mean tribute to the engineering skill of ancient days that it was possible to raise these structures. The later additions to the temples consist of an underground small shrine to the right of the main temple, dedicated to 'SIVA', father of Sri Kumaraswami, and *Mantapams* of various sizes, in and around it. That these are modern, is evident from their design and from the still more pregnant fact that they are built of small stones and covered with roofs in which teak and tile figure prominently.

As to the origin and the founder of the temple, there are no records extant. There are but two inscriptions in the temple, both evidently patents or Sanads evidencing the grant of certain villages. These inscriptions take us back only about three centuries, but the temple must be of much more ancient origin. The temple authorities point to a book in Devanagari characters consisting of sixteen cantos placed by the side of the god as the authoritative exposition of the origin of the temple and its deity. On a closer inspection, it proved to be a manuscript copy of the famous poems *Kumara Sambhava* of Kalidasa. This book narrates the story of the birth of Sri Kumaraswami, his installation as the generalissimo of the angelic forces to lead against the infamous Rakshasa 'Tarakāsura' and his final victory. But what bearing this book has upon the origin of the temple, it is impossible to imagine. A reference to the book is enough to satisfy the curiosity of any of the pilgrims, if indeed he dares entertain any such spirit of enquiry. We have to fall back upon the local legends as to the origin of the three temples situated in one and the same compound.

One of the legends says, that when the angels prayed to Sri Kumaraswami to accept the leadership of their forces to wage war against 'Tarakāsura,' the arch enemy of the *Devas*, who had been harassing the pious and the devout in various ways, and was even aspiring to the throne of Indra himself, he consented and was installed as such by *Devas* assembled in full court at this place. This installation ceremony took place in *Kartika Sudda Pournavami* of a Hindu leap year, that is the year in which an intercalary month appears in the Hindu Calendar. To mark this important epoch and in commemoration of this grand event, Sri Kumaraswami consented to stand still there, and a temple was built to shelter him. As his father and mother also were there to witness the ceremony and bless him, they also consented to remain there, and temples have also been built for them.

Yet another legend is told which is even more romantic. After the

defeat of 'Tarakāsura,' while Sri Kumaraswami was wandering among these woods, his mother one day approached him with a request that he should wed a girl whom she had selected, and on being questioned as to how she looked, he was told that she resembled herself, whereupon he grew indignant and vowed that he would not marry a girl who was mother-like, and for the matter of that he would not marry any girl at all, as she must necessarily be of the same sex as his mother. She in turn was so vexed at this furious resolve that she charged him with ingratitude, and indignantly demanded of him the mother's milk he freely imbibed at her breast in his infancy. Sri Kumaraswami then vomited forth the milk, and it is alleged to have fallen on a small hillock opposite to the temple, where, to this day, a big pit is dug up during the festival, and the clay removed therefrom, which proves to be *vibhūti*, the sacred ashes so much prized by devout Sivites. This pit is then covered up with all kinds of materials and they are all transformed into ashes in the course of three years. The mother was only more vexed at this and the father had to intervene to appease the wrath of the wife and son. To commemorate these events, temples have been built for the son, the father and the mother.

There is yet another legend which differs slightly from the above. According to this legend it was the son that requested the mother to select a girl for him, and when questioned as to what sort of girl she was to be like, he answered that she was to be like his mother, which so enraged her that she charged him with ingratitude, and challenged him to give back all the milk with which she had nursed him, when to her chagrin and dismay he vomitted all the milk.

These legends account for the extraordinary fact, that is almost unique in the annals of the temples throughout the length and breadth of India that no woman be she a girl, a maid, a married woman, or a widow, ever visits this temple nor is she permitted to do so by the temple authorities.

Shrouded in antiquity and legendary lore, it may not be possible exactly to trace the origin of the temple and its deity. But that it was built with human hands and that, at the period of the Brahminical Renaissance, at or about the fall of Buddhism in India, is almost certain from its structural appearance. Whatever might be the origin of the temple and its deity, the fact remains that it is a famous place of pilgrimage, and that thousands of people come from far off places like Kashmir, Guzarat and Assam. The idol of Kumaraswami is one of the most beautiful pieces of sculpture one comes across with anywhere in India. In form, grace, and symmetry it stands unrivalled just of a man's height its features are so classically chiselled that they all stand in bold relief and it impresses one at once with its beauty and proportion. When the idol is dressed and decked and is seen from the central

court, it can easily be mistaken for a real human personage of exalted rank and position. No wonder that no woman is tempted to enter the sacred precincts and men are attracted from far and near and are fascinated with the divine presence.

SACRIFICES ANCIENT AND MODERN

BY B. M. RANGAYYA NAIDU, Esq., B.A.

IN the second number of volume five of this journal, the immolation of the animal, on the altar, as a vicarious offering to the gods, at the Agnish-toma-sacrifice, was described briefly. The gods commenced with the immolation of man in the first instance, and dispensed with this dear prize, when the sacrificial essence in man fled from him, and entered some lower animals in succession, until at last it found its habitation in goats.¹ The goat is, therefore fit for a sacrifice, not only for this reason, but for the fact, that it was begotten of the *vasa* (marrow), which dripped from the injured nail of the eagle which flew to heaven to carry off King Soma, at the request of the gods, and got injured by *Kṛiṣānu*, the guardian of Soma, on his return journey. The eagle was no other than the metre, Gāyatri, which assumed this form.²

When the gods offered the *Vapa* oblation into the fire, they were in sight of heaven and went up to it, without having to perform any other rites. The Rishis and men, therefore, went to the spot, where the gods had spread the sacrifice, to see if they could obtain something worth knowing. Having gone all about the place, they found nothing but the carcass of an animal, shorn of its bowels. Thence they concluded that the value of the animal for sacrifices verily consisted in its *Vapa*, which is as much as the whole animal. The *Vapa* oblation must consist of five parts. The priest must first put melted butter into a ladle over the fire, then a thin gold plate, over it the *Vapa* and melted butter for the gold plate, and finally melted butter must be dripped on the whole. If no gold is to be had, the priest must put melted butter twice, in the ladle, then the *Vapa*, and drip twice melted butter on it. The melted butter is ambrosia, gold is also ambrosia, therefore when throwing the melted butter and gold into the fire, everything wished for, by the sacrificer is attainable.

When throwing the melted butter, the Hotri says, 'The drops of melted butter drip for thee, O, purifier (Agni) from the marrow, grant us the best things which are desirable for worshipping thee in the proper way.' Again when the *Vapa* is thrown on the fire, he says, 'We offer to thee the most juicy marrow (*Vapa*) taken out of the midst of the belly; these drops of melted butter drip on this thin skin (*Vapa*), carry them severally up to the gods.' Man is composed of five parts, viz. hair, skin, flesh, bones and marrow. By

¹Dr. Hang, p. 90.

²Vājasaneyi Samhita, 4, 27; Weber's edition, p. 117.

the oblation of *Vapa*, the priest makes the sacrificer, just such a man, composed of five parts, and offers him in Agni, who is the womb of the gods. After having grown in Agni's womb, with the different other oblations, he then goes up to heaven, with a golden body.

After the *Vapa* oblation, *Purōḍaśa* is thrown into the fire. Then the other parts of the animal are put into two ladles, called *Juhu* and *Upabhrīt*, fried on the fire and dripped over with melted butter. The heart, the tongue, the breast, the two sides, the left shoulder blade, the right part of the loins, etc., are put in the *Juhu*. The right shoulder blade, the left part of the loins, are put in the *Upabhrīt*. They are fried and dripped over with melted butter, and offered to the *Manōta* (Agni), which is called *angayaga*.

Another ceremony called the *Vas-homa* or the offering of the water and melted butter, in which the entrails of the animal have been fried, follows close on this. The *Adhvaryū*, thereafter, places a plant on the *Juhu*, takes once melted butter, and drips it twice over it, and calls upon the *Hotri* to address *Vanaspati*, who is present in the form of the *Yūpa*. The *Hotri* says, '*Dēvābhyo vanaspatē*,' i.e. 'mayest thou, O tree (the *Yūpa*), with golden leaves of old, who art quite straight, after having been freed from the bonds (with which thou wert tied), carry up, on the paths of right, turning towards the south, the offerings for thy own sake to the gods.' This refers to the bonds with which the sacrificial animal was tied to the *Yūpa*, before the immolation.¹ The sacrificer goes to heaven endowed with life to the gods, if he repeats this mantra.

A *Sviṣṭakṛit* oblation, i.e. an offering that is given to all deities, indiscriminately, after the principal deities of the respective *Iṣkties* have received their share, is offered, after which the priest and the sacrificer partake of the flesh offered in the ladles *Juhu* and *Upabhrīt*.² I have ascertained from the orthodox priests who exclusively attend to ceremonies, connected with sacrifices, that this practice is still observed at the present day, during a Soma-sacrifice. 'Beasts and birds prescribed may be slain for sacrifice, . . . since Agastya did this of old.'³ 'One may eat flesh which has been consecrated, at the desire of Brahmans, when required by law and in danger of life.'⁴

'He who is initiated into the sacrificial mysteries falls into the very mouth of Agni-Soma, to be their food. That is the reason that the sacrificer kills on the day previous to the Soma festival, an animal being devoted to Agni-Soma, thus redeeming himself from the obligation of being himself sacrificed. He then brings his Soma-sacrifice after having thus redeemed himself and become free from debts.'⁵

¹ *Vide* vol. v, 2, p. 64.

² Dr. Hang, p. 96.

³ Manu, v. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 27,

⁵ *Kaushītaki Brahmana*, 10-8.

THE SOMA-SACRIFICE

If the ceremonies attending the animal sacrifices are indicative of totemistic observances which excite the pathos and even surprise of a section of modern Hinduism, the meandering rituals of the Soma-sacrifices which follow them are sometimes grand and sometimes puerile.

On the night following the animal sacrifice the ceremonies connected with the Soma-sacrifice are begun. The *Prātar-anuvāka* or the morning prayer to gods who appear in the morning [Agni, Uṣas (dawn) and Aświns (twilight)] is repeated by the Hotri at the dead of night, for it must be repeated before people commence talking, before the voice of the cock is heard. The sacred words ought to be repeated before even men and animals have made their voices heard.

The gods appear early in the morning, if each of them is addressed in mantras of seven different metres, such as the Gāyatri, the Anuṣṭub, Triṣṭub, Brihatī, Uṣṇik, Jagatī, and Pankti. When Prajāpati was the Hotri of the gods, they were anxiously waiting to know who would be first addressed, with the *prātar-anuvāka*. Prajāpati saw by his mental vision, that if any one of the gods was first addressed, the rest would be displeased, and therefore addressed them collectively with the words, '*apo revatīḥ iti apah vi sarvāḥ devatāḥ* etc.' Apah, i.e. waters, means all deities, and *revatīḥ* (rich) means all deities. The gods were overjoyed at this, because each of them thought that he was first addressed. He who wishes for long life should repeat the *prātar-anuvāka* a hundred times.

The Soma-sacrifice begins with the bringing of the sacred waters from a river in the proximity of which such sacrifices are generally held. Once upon a time the Rishis held a sacrificial session on the banks of the Sarasvati. Kavaṣa, the son of Iluṣa, was also among them. The Rishis, seeing him there, turned him out, saying, 'how should the son of a slave girl, a gamester, who is no Brahman, remain among us, and become initiated into all the sacrificial rites. Let him be turned out into a desert, where he may die of thirst, and not drink the waters of the Sarasvati'. Kavaṣa grew angry with the Rishis, and ran to the Sarasvati. He thought of the mantra called *apo naptriya*. '*Pra devatra brāhmaṇe gātur ētu*, etc.', i.e. may there be a way for the Brahman leading to the gods. Sarasvati surrounded him on all sides. Then the Rishis called him back, thinking that he was guiltless. They said, 'Rishi! adoration be to thee; do us no harm. Thou art the most excellent among us, for Sarasvati follows thee'. Kavaṣa was then made the manager of the sacrifice and his wrath was appeased. Then the Rishis repeated the *apo naptriya*, and obtained the favour of the waters and the gods.¹ At the time of bringing the water for squeezing the Soma juice

¹ Kausitaki Brahmana, 12-3.

the Hotri finishes his *prātar-anuvāka*. He then draws in his breath as strongly as he can after repeating the mantra '*pranam gachcha*, etc.,' with a low voice. Then he repeats, '*apanam yachcha*, etc.,' with a low voice, and exhales the air through the nose as strongly as he can. He repeats with a low voice the mantra '*vyanaya*, etc.,' and touches the stone by which the Soma for the *Upamsu grapa* is squeezed. Thereafter he can talk aloud. '*Apo naptriya*', i.e. he calls for the waters, on the day previous to the Soma feast, water is brought and preserved, and this is called the *vasativari* waters, and water brought on the morning of the day of the feast, and consecrated by the throwing of one stalk of *kuśa* grass by the Adhvaryu, which is therefore called *Ekadhana*s, are mixed together.¹ The Hotri repeats the mantra to pacify the waters. These waters were once jealous of one another, as to which should first carry the sacrifice. Bhrigu knowing their jealousy, silenced them by this mantra. These waters are poured into the Chamasa (cups) of the Hotri, who repeats the mantra.²

The Hotri then addresses the Adhvaryu with the following words, 'With these waters you will squeeze, O, Adhvaryu, for Indra, the Soma, the honey-like, the rain giving the inevitably successful making (Soma), at the end, after having included so many ceremonies (from first to last); you will squeeze for him (Indra), who is joined by the Vasus, the Rudras, Adityas, Ribhus, who has power, who has food, who is joined by Brihaspati, and by all gods; you will squeeze the Soma of which Indra formerly drank, slew his enemies, and overcame his adversaries. Om!'

SOMA EXTRACTION

The preparation of the Soma-juice is described in the following manner by Dr. Haugh (p. 489).

'The plant which is at present used by the sacrificial priests of the Dekkhan at the Soma feast, is not the Soma of the Vedas, but appears to belong to the same order. (*Asclepias acida*.) It grows on the hills in the neighbourhood of Poona, to the height of about four to five feet, and forms a kind of bush, consisting of a certain number of shoots, all coming from the same root; their stem is solid like wood; the bark greyish, they are without leaves, the sap appears whitish, has a very stringent taste, is bitter, but not sour . . . it has some intoxicating effect . . .'

'The juice is obtained in the following way. The Adhvaryu first spreads a skin³ (*charma*), and puts on it the Soma shoots, which are called *amśu* or *valli*. He now takes two boards *adhiṣṭavana*; the first is placed

¹ *Sam Anya Yanti* (Rig-veda ii. 35. 3).

² *Apo na devir Upayanti* (Rig-veda, i. 83. 2).

³ Goat's skin.

above the Soma. He beats the board with one of the so-called, *adhiṣavana* i.e. Soma-squeezing stones, takes the shoots (as many as he requires for the particular Savana) from below the board, ties them together, and places the other board above them. He then pours water from the *Vasativari* pot on this board; this water is called the *nigrabhya*. He now takes a certain number of shoots (there are, for instance, for the libation from the Upamsu Graha, which is the first of all, six required), out of the whole bunch which lies between the two boards, holds over them the Soma squeezing stone, and shakes them thrice in the Chamasa (cup) of the Hotri, towards the right side. This is the *nigrabhya*. He wets them with the waters of the *Vasativari* pot. Now he puts them on a large stone, places upon them some grass, and beats the shoots in order to extract the juice. The technical term for this beating is *abhiṣanoti*. Each *abhiṣava* or complete extracting of the Soma-juice consists of three turns (*paryayas*); in the first the Adhvaryu beats the shoots eight times, and makes the *nigrabha*, in the manner described above; in the second turn, he beats them eleven times, and the third, twelve times; making at the end of each, the *nigrabhya*. The juice which the Adhvaryu catches at the end of each turn with his hand, is thrown into a vessel (at the first *abhiṣava* in the Upamsu Graha). After the first or preliminary *abhiṣava*, follows the *mahabhiṣava* or the great squeezing ceremony, performed exactly in the same way as the first, with the only difference that the Adhvaryu takes from between the two boards, as many Soma shoots, as are required for the rest of the *savanam* (libation). If the juice is extracted, it is poured in the *Adhavamyā*, a kind of trough. Thence it is poured in a cloth in order to strain it. This cloth is called *pavitra* or *vasapavitra*. Below the cloth is another trough called the *pūtabhrit* (i.e. the bearer of what is strained, purified). The Udgatri must hold the cloth, when the juice is strained'.

The libations are poured from two kinds of vessels, i.e. from the *Grahas* and *Chamasas* (cups). The two first Soma libations are poured into the *Ahavamyā* fire, as soon as the juice is obtained by squeezing, from two vessels called *Upamsu graha* and *antaryama graha*.¹ When the Hotri is drawing in his breath, the libation from the *Upamsu graha* is poured into the *Uttara Vēdi*, by the Adhvaryu, and when he breathes out, the libations from *antaryama graha* is poured. The Hotri should not talk before these two have been poured into the fire, otherwise he would carry off the vital airs of the sacrificer, by means of his speech, which is a weapon. He might be blamed for doing so, as having murdered the sacrificer, for whose benefit he is performing the sacrifice.

¹ *Graha* is a small earthen cup, like a saucer, which is put over the Soma vessel (*Dronakalasa*) to cover the precious juice.

After the libations from the *Upamsu graha* and *Antaryama graha* are poured into the fire, the Soma squeezed, and poured in the different vessels—such as *Aindravāyavya*, etc., which are kept in readiness for making the libations, five of the priests, viz. *Adhvaryu*, *Prastotri*, *Pratihatri*, *Udgatri*, and *Brahma*, one holding the hand of the other, walk in the direction of the *chatvala* (a hole in the sacrificial compound for making ablutions in) and ultimately take their seats for chanting a *Saman* (a 'sacred verse'). Before they chant, the priests eat a *charu* offering which are enjoyed by both gods and men, except the *Hotri*, in honour of the *Bahiṣ-pavamana stotra*, which consists of nine *richas*, beginning from '*Upāsmāi gāyatā narah*'.

The *Hotri* must sit while the other priests are walking round the *chatvala* and say, 'What Soma draught here at the sacrifice, placed on the sacred grass on the altar, belongs to the gods, of this we also enjoy a share'. Thus the soul of the *Hotri* is not excluded from the Soma draught which is drunk by the Soma singers after the *Bahiṣ-pavamana stotra*. The Soma is mixed either with whey or water to weaken its inebriating quality at the present day.

At each of the three libations, morning, midday and evening, rice cakes should be offered, having been put on eleven potsherds, because the *Trish-tubh* metre which is addressed to *Indra*, consists of eleven syllables. The gods also made these rice cake offerings, before the Soma offering was made, therefore it is called *puroḍaśa* (from *puro* meaning before). The sacrificer should eat of this offering besmeared with butter. Then an offering consisting of five things, viz. fried grains of barley, *karambha* (mixture of curds and barley juice), *parivapa* (mixture of fried grains and barley juice), *puroḍaśa* and *pāyasa*, which is called *haviṣ-pamkti*, is made, with the following words, 'May *Indra* with his two yellow horses, eat the fried grains, with *Puṣan* eat the *karambha*; may the *parivapa* be enjoyed by *Sarasvati* and *Bhārati*, and the cake (*puroḍaśa*) be enjoyed by *Indra*'. By repeating this mantra, the *Hotri* makes the sacrificer join those deities, assume the same form, and occupy the same place with them. The *Hotri* who has such a knowledge, also becomes joined to the best beings and obtains the highest bliss.

SILENT PRAISE

The importance of silent prayers was, doubtless, well-known to a people who prescribed noisy ceremonies as a fundamental step to the attainment of heaven. It puts all other forms of worship in the shade. In former times, the *Asuras* performed all ceremonies which the *Devas* did, at a sacrifice. The *Asuras* became as mighty as they, and did not yield to them. The *Devas* saw with their mind's eye, the '*tūṣṇīm śamsa*' or silent praise, which is the latent essence of the mantras. The *Asuras* were not aware of this. The

Devas aimed with it a blow at the Asuras and overcame them. When the Devas went to war with the Asuras, Agni was not willing to go with them. They requested Agni to join them, saying, 'Go thou with us, for thou art one of us'. He said, 'I will not go, unless a ceremony of praise, is performed for me. Do ye that now'. So, they all rose up from their places, turned towards Agni, and performed the ceremony of praising him. Agni then followed them, in the shape of three arrows, attacked the Asuras in three battle lines and defeated them. The three rows were made of three metres, viz. *Gāyatri*, *Tristubh* and *Jagati*. The battle lines are the three libations. Agni defeated them beyond expectation. The two principal liturgies at the morning libation, are finished with, *bhūr, agnir jyōtir jyōtir agnīh*. They are called Aja and Pra-uga shastras. The midday libation closes with *Indro jyōtir bhuvō jyōtir indrah*, and the ceremonies connected with this, are called Niṣkēvalya and Marutvatīya shastras. By the words, *Sūryah jyōtīh sōah sūryah*, the Vaiśvadeva and Agnimaruta shastras which are the ceremonies for the evening libations, are finished. These mantras constitute what is called the silent praise. If the Hotri wishes to deprive any sacrificer of his standing place, i.e. pratīṣṭha, then all he has to do is to omit repeating the silent praise; the sacrificer then perishes along with his sacrifice. But if the Hotri repeats it, he will also reap the benefit thereof.

The Ādityas and Angirasas were once contending as to who would gain the heavenly world first. The Angirasas saw by their mental vision that they would gain heaven, by means of the Soma-sacrifice which they intended to perform next day. They sent one among them, viz. Agni to inform the Ādityas that they would go to heaven, by performing the Soma-sacrifice the following day. On seeing Agni, the Ādityas made out the object of the Angirasas. Agni said, 'We inform you of our bringing to-morrow that Soma-sacrifice, by means of which we shall gain heaven.' The Ādityas replied, 'We announce to you that we are thinking of bringing the Soma-sacrifice just now by means of which we shall reach heaven; but thou, Agni, must serve as our Hotri, then we shall go to heaven.'¹ Agni consented. He went back to the Angirasas to tell them that he had promised the Ādityas to act as their Hotri. 'Didst thou not promise us thy assistance' said they. Agni said, 'yes; but I could not decline the offer of the Ādityas. For he who engages in performing the duty of a sacrificial priest, obtains fame; and any one who prevents the sacrifice from being performed, excludes himself from his fame. Therefore I did not prevent, by declining the offer.'² If one wishes to decline serving as a sacrificial priest, the refusal is only justified, on account of oneself being engaged in a sacrifice elsewhere,

¹ Sat. Pat. Br., iii, 5.1.13.

² Aitareya. Br., vi, 5.84.

or because of being legally prohibited to perform the sacrificial duties. The ethical code of the gods was evidently very elastic in those days, and these precepts, such as they are, are honoured even to this day, and are by no means uncommon among the sacerdotal order.

The Angirasas having assisted the Ādityas in their sacrifice, the latter gave them the earth as their sacrificial reward *Dakṣina*. But when they took the reward, it burnt them. Therefore they flung it away, and it became a lioness, devouring people. From this burning state of the earth, came these ruptures (which are now visible on the surface), whereas it was quite even before. Dr. Hargraves thinks that the ancient sages had indicated the discovery of the causes that made the earth uneven, though it was left to the modern geologists to assert with definiteness what these causes are.

The Āditya (the sun) assuming the shape of a white horse with bridle and harness, appeared before the offering of the Ādityas for being presented to the Angirasas. They said, 'Let us carry this gift to you (Angirasas)'. This is expressed in a hymn called the Devanītha hymn, i.e. what is carried by the gods.

DEVANĪTHA HYMN

'The Ādityas brought the Angirasas their reward. They did not accept the earth, but they accepted the white horse. He (the sun) being carried away, the days disappeared. The wise men were without a leader (*purogava*). For the reward (*Dakṣina*) is the leader in the sacrifices. Just as a carriage without having a bullock as a leader yoked to it, becomes damaged, a sacrifice at which no reward is given, becomes damaged also. Therefore the sacrificial reward must be given (to the performers of a sacrifice), even if it should be but very little.'

THE ORDAINING OF THE SACRIFICE

Prajāpati first created the sacrifice, and in the wake of it, the Brahma or divine knowledge and the Kṣattrā or sovereignty were produced. Following these, two creatures, viz. those that eat the sacrificial food and those that do not eat it, were born. The former followed the Brahma, and the latter the Kṣattrā. Therefore, the Brahmans only are qualified to eat the sacrificial food, while the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śudras are not. The sacrifice fled from both of them. Why it deserted the Brahma is not mentioned. Both Brahma and Kṣattrā then followed the sacrifice, with all their respective implements, viz. sacrificial implements and martial implements (a horse, carriage, an armour, and a bow and arrow). The weapons of the Kṣattrā frightened away the sacrifice, and the Kṣattrā returned, not being able to reach it. The Brahma however reached it, and surrounding it, stood still. The sacrifice saw its own implements in the hands of Brahma.

and returned to the Brahma. The sacrifice having chosen to stay with the Brahma, it is therefore placed only among the Brahmins. The Brahmins alone are therefore allowed to perform it. The Kṣattria then ran after the Brahma and said, 'Let me take possession of the sacrifice, which has been placed in them.' The Brahmin said, 'Well, let it be so. Lay down thy own weapons, assume by means of the implements of Brahma, the form of Brahma, and return to it. The Kṣatriya obeyed, 'Therefore even a Kṣatriya, when he lays down his weapons, and assumes the form of the Brahma, by means of the sacrificial implements, returns to it (he is allowed a share in it)'.¹

When, therefore, the sacrificer is a Kṣatriya, the ceremonial of the sacrifice undergoes modification. The inauguration ceremony (*dīkṣa*) of a Kṣatriya, will, nevertheless, be announced by the formula which means, 'The Brahmana is initiated', but the ancestral fire of the Kṣatriya's house-priest, must be mentioned, for they cannot claim descent from the Rishis, as the Brahmins alone can do. The sacrificer should, of necessity, eat the sacrificial food. But if he is a Kṣatriya, he would commit a sin by eating it, as he is an *ahutā*, i.e. one not permitted to eat. The alternative damage is, that by not so eating, he cuts himself off from the sacrifice, with which he is connected. For the portion of the offering to be eaten by the sacrificer is itself the sacrifice. This portion is to be made over, however, to the Brahma priest. Through the intervention of another a Brahmin priest the portion is supposed to be eaten by him, although he does not eat it with his own mouth. For whenever the Brahma is, the sacrifice is there. Therefore this portion of sacrificial food is to be eaten by the sacrificer, and if he is a Kṣatriya, it is to be given up to the Brahma priest. Some priests offer this food to fire, saying, 'I place thee in Prajāpati's world, which is called *vibhau* (shining everywhere). By joined to the sacrificer, *svāha*!' This is sinful. By throwing the sacrificial food into the fire, the priests throw the sacrificer himself into the fire, because it is only a vicarious offering. Therefore if any one observes the priests doing so, he must tell them, 'You have singed the sacrificer in the fire. Agni will burn his breath, and he will consequently die.' Therefore they ought not to do so.²

THE SOMA FOR THE KṢATRIYA

Once upon a time the gods excluded Indra from having any share in the sacrifices, since he had killed Viśvarūpa, the son of Īvaṣṭar, cast down Vritra and killed him, thrown pious men (*yatis*) before the jackals or wolves, and killed the Aruṇamukhas (a class of Asuras in the disguise of Brahmins), and rebuked Brihaspati, his guru. Indra was therefore excluded from taking

¹ Dr. Hang; p. 471.

² Ibid, p. 481.

part in the enjoyment of Soma beverage. All the Kṣatriyas, at whose head Indra was, were also excluded from it. Indra was not to be baffled by this act of the celestial priests. He took the Soma by force at the sacrifice performed by Īvaṣṭar, and he was thereafter allowed a share in it. But the Kṣatriya race remains excluded from the Soma beverage to this day. The Kṣatriya is said to be properly excluded from partaking of the Soma.¹ He may, however, take a substitute for Soma, which is exclusively his own. He must squeeze the descending roots of the Nyagrodha tree (banyan) together with the fruits of the Udambra, Asvatta, and Plakṣa trees, and drink their juice. This is their own share. When the gods went up to heaven, after having performed the sacrifices successfully, they tilted over (*ny-ubjan*) the Soma cups. From these drops the Nyagrodha trees grew up. They are now called by the same name in Kurukṣetra, where they grew first. From them all others originated. They throw the roots down, when growing, (*nyancho rohanti*). Therefore what grows downwards, is *nygroha*. It is called *nyagro-dha*, whose meaning is hidden to men, for the gods like to hide the meaning of words from men. The Kṣatriya who drinks the juice of the Nyagrodha at a sacrifice, is not debarred from heaven. When the Hotri drinks from the Soma cup, the Kṣatriya should drink from his cup repeating the following words, 'what has remained of the juicy Soma beverage while Indra drank with his hosts, that (this remainder) I enjoy, with my happy mind; I drink the king Soma.' He must then present to the Brahman priests, gold, a thousand cows, and a field in the form of a quadrangle. These gifts should be great in proportion to the dignity of the person initiated into the sacrifice.

If a king does not intend to bring a sacrifice, he must at least appoint a *purohita*, house-priest. For the gods do not eat the food offered by a king, who has no house-priest. Where a king has a *purohita*, he has the use of the sacred fires, without having actually established them, which lead to heaven.²

The Purohita is Vaiśvānara (Agni) himself. He has five destructive powers. One of them is in his speech, one in his feet, one in his skin, one in his heart and one somewhere else. With these he attacks the king. But by the king's attention to him, and presenting him *kusa* grass, he propitiates the destructive fire in Agni's speech. When water is brought for washing his feet, the destructive fire in his feet is propitiated. When he is adorned with presents, the destructive power in his skin is appeased, when food is given him, the fire in his heart is appeased. In this way, the king should satisfy the priest who protects him from his enemies.

1 Dr. Haug, p. 484.

2 Aitareya Brahmana.

KRISHNA RAJA WODEYAR III

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

HIS Highness the Maharaja of Mysore performed a couple of weeks ago what appears a very pleasing function at Seringapatam. From the published reports, it will be seen that he declared open a memorial *mantap* raised in memory of his grand-father and namesake, Maharaja Sri Krishna Raja Wodeyar Bahadur III. It requires even for close students of Indian history an effort to recall to memory the fact that His late Highness was ruler of Mysore one hundred and sixteen years ago almost to a day. After the capture of Seringapatam and the fall of Tippu Sultan, the British, in recognition of the loyalty of the old Mysore Royal Family, decided to resuscitate it without delay. This resolution of Lord Mornington gave effect to an understanding between the Madras Government and the *de jure* ruler of Mysore for the freeing of Southern India from the tyranny of the usurpers of Mysore and the French, with whom they carried on wily machinations against the British. It is a singular fact that this compact on the part of the Company, on the one side, and the Royal House of Mysore, on the other, was kept up, secretly sometimes, and openly at others, during the whole course of the conflict between 1761 and 1799. It was in virtue of this compact, too, that the Treaty of Peace of 1799 was concluded, so far as Mysore was concerned, with Maharani Lakshammanni, a lady endued with great tenacity of purpose and devotion to duty, and possessed of an iron will before which obstacles, great and small, vanished into thin air. Her understanding was equal to that of any exalted personage of her times. She saw through the clouds which dimmed the vision of many a man of her days. She grasped the cardinal fact that the British were the coming race in India and that the salvation of her ancient house lay through them. It is a remarkable fact that her whole correspondence with the old time Governors of Madras shows the implicit faith she had in them. She and her family had the prescience to see that the usurpation in Mysore should end before very long. She had the prescience to see too that neither Haidar nor Tippu, his son, could win the hearts of the British, because of their consuming ambition for the mastery of the South in conjunction with the French. The British wished for the downfall of the French, and the lady of Mysore desired the ending of the usurpation in Mysore. The policy of the English in Madras was a halting

one at the time; it was a policy born not of their own free will and choice but dictated by the Directors at home. The commercial leading strings still stood in the way of dominion in India. But the Directors before long saw that quenching the French thirst for an empire in India was impossible without the defeat and dethronement of the usurper in Mysore. The wars, known as the Mysore wars in history, were the result of this halting policy. Haidar's devastation of territory and Tippu's mutilation of men were the consequences of this mistaken zeal for peace in Southern India when no peace could be had in it. The Marquess of Wellesley saw through the whole of this policy, and its reversal was complete when he reached Madras on the eve of the conquest of Seringapatam. He would not after that memorable event consider any proposals for the continuation of Tippu's family. The Sultan's sons were removed from the place, and the restoration was quickly resolved upon and carried out on the fifty-seventh day following the capture of Seringapatam.

Krishna Raja was but a child at the time. He was only four years of age, but, says an old despatch of the times, his deportment on the occasion was remarkably decorous. The new administration was in the hands of Dewan Purnaiya, an officer of Tippu, who by his tact, his knowledge of the resources of the country and his marked suavity of manners was easily recognized as the fittest person to act as Regent during the minority of the young prince. The administration of the country, in his safe hands, progressed rapidly, and a succession of British officers, including Sir Barry Close, Arthur Wellesley (after Duke of Wellington), Mr. Josiah Webbe, Sir John Malcolm, and Colonel Mark Wilks (the great historian of Mysore) helped to secure permanency for it. Under such happy auspices the country soon recovered from the evils of the maladministration and war during the past half century. The revenues increased by leaps and bounds and the public coffers were filled to overflowing; communications were improved; courts of justice were organized; and the outlook for the future seemed bright. But unhappily for the country and its ruler, the education of the young prince was on the old lines. To say that it was neglected is to say something which is palpably unjustifiable. There has been a tendency to misjudge the great Dewan Purnaiya in this matter. There can be no doubt that this would be misreading the Dewan and his disposition towards his youthful master. As he would be the first to suffer if anything untoward happened to the Royal House, at least self-interest would have dictated to him a course less disastrous to himself. The fact is he was essentially a man of his own times, as much as Lord Mornington and the brilliant array of British officers—among them the illustrious Sir Thomas Munro—who helped to evolve the new kingdom of Mysore.

The idea of a new type of education for Indian princes was a conse-

quence of the ill-fate that late in his life, befell, Krishna Raja III. That he did receive education of the usual Indian kind is not denied; that he made good use of it in after life is also clear; but that it did not serve its purpose cannot, perhaps, be gainsaid. He fell a victim to the ideas of the time. But he was a far-seeing man. Though out of power, he proved himself the best friend of the British down south during the troublous period of 1857. He kept his people under control; he preached loyalty to 'the magnanimous British,' as he put it; and he gave the first intimation to British officers of persons likely to give trouble. That was a service that the British never forgot. When the final determination of the restoration of the Mysore kingdom was taken up, it proved a deciding factor with Her Majesty Queen Victoria and her advisers. Sir Stafford Northcote in his famous Despatch of April 16, 1867, pointed to 'the personal loyalty and attachment to the British Government which His Highness has so conspicuously manifested' as one of the chief reasons for maintaining his family on the throne in the person of His Highness' adopted son. Thus was friendship for Britain in her hour of trial requited by her.

If Krishna Raja Wodeyar III proved a true friend of the British in India at a critical time, his son (a descendant by the way, of Rani Lakshmammani abovenamed, and grandson, the present Maharaja, have shown that the friendship of old is hallowed not only by time but by mutual interests as well. To those who know His Highness, the present Maharaja's bounteous grant for the successful prosecution of the present war is an indication of the spirit which has animated his ancient Royal House towards Britain for over a century and half.

Krishna Raja III was a typical Indian ruler. There is, in all Mysore, no name more popular, with the sole exception, perhaps of that Kantirava Narasa, whose coins have secured for him lasting fame. He encouraged talent of every kind; he held court in princely fashion; he patronised poets and pandits; he travelled incognito and made friends with farmers and peasants; he built temples and tanks; and beyond all, he loved a joke as well as any human being possessed of the saving grace of humour. It was this last that helped him to overcome many a difficult situation and it was this, too, that made him see things in their true proportion. His memory is cherished by many millions in Mysore to this day as a great sovereign, a good friend, and a god-fearing man, who conferred no small benefit on his peoples and country by the rare virtues he showed in combating the adverse fate that overtook him. Many are the stories current in the State of his surprise visits, of his witty-talk, and of his even-handed charity. He lived to see the fruit of his endeavours to win back his kingdom to his ancient and historic family. Sir Stafford Northcote's famous despatch restoring the Mysore kingdom to His Highness' adopted son, the late Chamarajendra Wodeyar,

was penned on the 16th April, 1867. On its contents being made known to the aged Krishna Raja, he took steps without delay to put on a proper basis the education of the future ruler of Mysore. That shows how well he understood that defective mental training is inimical to success in a modern Indian ruler. He died on the 27th March, 1868, at the advanced age of seventy-four years, lamented as much by his subjects as by the British to whom he had proved so trusted a friend. The *Mantap*, which has just been consecrated in his memory, by his grandson and namesake, is one befitting in every way his inherent simplicity of faith and character. It is the wish and prayer of every native of Mysore and everyone who loves that beautiful upland that it may stand there unimpaired for many, many years to come and remind passers-by of the exalted qualities of Krishna Raja III and of his august grandson, Krishna Raja IV.—*Commonweal*.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION UNDER HINDU GOVERNMENTS

BY PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.,
F. R. HIST. S.

I

THE recent controversy over the Post-Puberty Marriage Bill has thrown into relief the various points of view from which a question affecting social legislation in this country is likely to be looked at. It would be interesting to add one more to the large number of such view-points though of an academical character. Human affairs keep changing so rapidly, even in most conservative matters, that the saying remains largely true that the altar-cloth of one æon becomes the door-mat of another. This is often forgotten by those who look out for precedents from past history, or even, for the matter of that, for the prevailing practice elsewhere, under other climes and other circumstances. Notwithstanding the fact that precedent and present examples are not capable of direct copying, they are capable of giving lessons which may be guides, the importance of which would depend entirely upon the particular matter, and also on the manner, in which they are sought to be applied.

The problem of marriage reform is not new, nor is it peculiar to our own age, but the special problem that calls for solution is peculiar to the age and environment in which it exhibits itself. The question of widow marriage, of early marriage (of which post-puberty marriage is but a special part), and the question of marriage dowries which has called forth such tragic exhibitions recently, all hang together, and are all of them the result of one institution—the obligation that is laid upon women of the Brāhmaṇa caste, and of other castes that follow their lead, of marriage. In one age it is one of these that shows itself in a pronounced form; at another, another. When the evil shows itself prominently, solutions are attempted, legislation is made and enforced with fearfully deterrent penalties; but the mill of human progress grinds but slowly, sometimes even very badly. The same evil shows itself after an interval and perhaps in a more aggravated form, demonstrating thereby that legislation in these matters is about as efficient a remedy as the various sumptuary laws of old. It is not at all likely that legislation will

bring the millennium on earth although there is no doubt wise legislation contributes its own small quota if other efficient causes are at work.

The woes of married life are great enough to keep divorce courts active in the West, but the dismal tale of silent suffering is so great with us that death is 'release' in a large number of cases, and one remedy that suggests itself to those who suffer is that marriage itself should be optional to the womenfolk as to the men. Optional marriage does not appear to have made every one happy where it prevails. So that we are at last reduced to this—that all our efforts are but tentative attempts at some relief, more or less efficacious according to the nature of the evil grappled with.

The evils attending the problem of marriage had been experienced in this country, almost in the very locality we are in, about five hundred years ago, and drastic measures were adopted. The evil that was intended to be stopped became prevalent, perhaps in the course of a few generations, and has had unquestioned sway till within memory of the present generation of people. The younger generation exhibit the opposite evil a great deal more now. After all, the evil complained of was one of sufficient gravity to warrant legislation, was unshastraic in character, and came home in the most realistic fashion to those concerned. The evil I have been alluding to is the evil of 'price' in marriages. This evil assumes protean forms; but two shapes that it assumes seem the most usual, namely the demanding of a heavy price either for the bridegroom or for the bride. The most visible form nowadays is the 'bridegroom-price,' although it would be hazardous to state that the 'bride-price' has gone out of existence. If any social evil is clamant for remedy at the moment in Hindu society it is this; and the class that is most atrociously guilty is the so-called educated classes of the community. Many a parent is driven to despair and many a poor girl, who is able to watch the game from within, is driven to commit suicide in charity to her suffering parents. Things show a distinct trend towards an automatic solution, and that is, that marriage for girls will become about as obligatory as it is for boys. According to the Shastras it is obligatory to the same degree on both, as the object of marriage is addition to humanity. Will legislation help this? Yes, if the legislation is such as will command the assent of the community, or communities, concerned. If the community is capable of seeing the reasonableness of a measure of legislation, that community can certainly see the evil of the noxious custom itself. The most effective remedy, then, is the education of the community to see for themselves what others are able to see, an ideal we are a long way from attaining. Hence the effort to attain to it by the shorter cut of compulsory legislation.

There is a record of one such measure of legislation by Dēva Rāya II of Vijayanagar, who ruled from about A.D. 1422 to 1449. The evil of

a heavy brideprice seems to have afflicted the Brāhmaṇa community in the division of the Empire known by the name of Marakatanagaraprānta—Marakatanagar being the head-quarters of the division—the modern Vṛnchīpuram in the North Arcot District.

Dēva Rāya issued writs summoning the Brāhmaṇas of the various communities in the division, the Tamil, Telugu, Kārṇāṭa, and Lāṭa (Gujarati) communities. Each village was asked to send at least one man of their choice so that his opinion might be binding on his constituency. The learned ones among them were invited, very probably by individual writs. This august assembly had their session in the halls and open air, adjoining the temple and tank, and examined the question first of all as to how far the practice was *shastraic*. They were unanimously of opinion that the practice was positively unshastraic. They must then have considered what would be the best punishment for the breach of the Shastra, and seem to have arrived at the conclusion that excommunication would be the proper punishment. The resolution was accepted, and the King added that over and above excommunication there would also be penalties of the civil law added, and issued his orders prohibiting altogether any money transaction on occasions of marriages, and enjoining free gift of girls (*kanyādāna*).

It would be almost impossible to conceive of more favourable circumstances to carry through a measure of legislation than these. Nor could more drastic punishments have been held up as the penalty for transgression. For although the character of the civil penalty is not indicated, we have a hint of it almost from another case. A certain number of Brāhmaṇas, for some reason, abandoned the peaceful pursuit of life to which they were accustomed and turned highway robbers. They defied successfully the communal authority to which their obedience was due in the first instance. Complaint was made at head-quarters and the Maharaja detailed the general of the district to arrest the recalcitrant culprits and place them before the community to undergo their trial. One party of two brothers was arrested and the others managed to escape into the forests. They fell upon the party escorting the arrested brothers and effected their release. The King then ordered a stronger contingent for this dangerous duty, and decreed that they be punished as highway robbers, as they had ceased to be Brāhmaṇas by taking themselves out of the community in this manner, and had, as such, forfeited the consideration to which they were otherwise entitled.

It is clear from this that when one got excommunicated from the fold of orthodoxy the punishment must have been severe indeed. It would have been interesting indeed if we had the means of knowing of what efficacy the measure of legislation was in combating the evil. We have no means of knowing that; but we do know that that same evil afflicted society generally not long ago, and does to a certain extent perhaps even now.

II

The questions relating to social welfare are many, and those that came for authoritative royal settlement were, comparatively speaking, few in ages when there was a complete devolution of Governmental authority on local bodies, big and small. Usually a question was taken up for Royal orders when it was felt that the gravity of the question transcended communal authority or the authority of a Provincial Governor, or happened to be of such importance as to affect a caste or class spread over more than one division. We have two remarkable instances, one relating to a caste matter and the other to the civil rights of religious sects. The first concerns itself with an *anuloma* caste, called Rathakāras, and the point under dispute was what profession this class should follow. The question is of no importance under modern economical conditions with considerable fluidity of labour. In a state of society, however, the economic constitution of which was far different from, nay even the opposite in some respects of, our own it is of the utmost importance. The word Rathakāra is ordinarily explained as a carriage-builder, carpenter, or wheel-wright. This is a profession which could have had only limited scope for its exercise in a society where freedom of movement was comparatively limited. In order to decide this important question, the learned Bhaṭṭas (Brāhmaṇas) were called together. They examined carefully the shastraic texts bearing on the question, such as Yajñavalkya, Gautama, Kauṭilya, Bodhāyana, and others, and found that a Māhiṣya was defined as one born of a Kṣātriya father by a Vaiśya mother; that a Karaṇī was the daughter of a Vaiśya father by a Śudra mother; and a Rathakāra as the son of a Māhiṣya father by a Karaṇī mother. Thus it is seen that a Rathakāra was an *anuloma* to the second degree. The professions laid down for him were curious enough—(1) architecture, (2) building coaches and chariots, which perhaps was their general occupation, (3) erecting *gopuras* of temples with images on them, (4) preparation of instruments required by the Brāhmaṇas in their sacrificial ceremonies such as the ladle, etc., (5) building of *mandāpas*, (6) making of jewels for kings such as diadems, bracelets, etc.

Inter alia it was also laid down that this *anuloma* sept of Rathakāras was superior in point of caste dignity to the *prathiloma* sept (those born of a Karaṇī father by a Māhiṣya mother). These were according to one authority quoted, entitled to the wearing of the sacred thread (Upanayana), the performing of sacrifices (Ijya) and the receiving of the sacred fire (Ādhāna). According to another authority, however, these *anulomas*, though entitled to Upanayana, are prohibited from the perpetual keeping of the sacred fire (Agnihotra), the worship of the fire thus kindled (Aupāsana), and the five

sacred methods of worship prescribed for Brāhmanas (Panchamahāyajña),¹ and the chanting of the Vedas (Adhyayana). It is interesting to note that this last authority lays down that the Upanayana ceremony referred to in respect of the Rathakāras should not be conducted by quoting the *mantras*. This decision of the learned men of the hamlet of Uyyakonḍan Tirumalai at the beginning of the twelfth century is of particular interest in respect of the procedure adopted in disputes of this kind. The Rathakāras as a caste, it is interesting to note, find mention in the Vedas (in the *Vājasaneyā Samhita*).

The question in regard to the civil rights of followers of different religious persuasions came up for Royal decision in the middle of the fourteenth century under Bukka (A.D. 1336-1376), the founder of the Vijayanagar Empire, and has relation to a dispute between the Jains and the Vaiṣṇavas in a Vaiṣṇava centre, in the State of Mysore. The question in dispute was whether the Jains were entitled to the use of the five great musical instruments and the carrying of the Holy Water pot (Kalaśa) in ceremonial processions and on ceremonial occasions. This right to their use was obviously called into question and complaints were naturally carried to headquarters. Bukka took the matter up and called for a conference of the leading Jains from the various Jain centres, such as Anegondi, Hosapaṭṭana, Penugonda, Kallehadapaṭṭana, etc., and the Vaiṣṇavas of the eighteen nāḍas from Śrīrangam, Tirupati, Kanchipuram, Tirunārāyaṇapuram, etc., concerned in the administration of the Vaiṣṇava temples. Having investigated into the matter and getting the Vaiṣṇavas to agree in writing, he issued it as his order that between Vaiṣṇava Darśana and the Jaina Darśana there was no difference whatever. He then took the hand of the Jains and, putting it into the hands of the Vaiṣṇavas in token of placing the Jains under the protection of the Vaiṣṇavas, decreed:

In this Jaina Darśana, according to former customs, the five big drums, and the Kalaśa will [continue to] be used. If to the Jaina Darśana any injury on the part of the Bhaktas [Vaiṣṇavas] should arise, it will be protected [in the same manner] as if injury to the Vaiṣṇavas had arisen.

The Vaiṣṇavas were ordered to set up copies of this decree in the principal Jain shrines of the kingdom and it was laid down that 'the Vaiṣṇava Samaya will continue to protect the Jaina Darśana as long as the sun and moon endure. The Vaiṣṇavas cannot be allowed to look upon the Jains as in a single respect different.'

By consent of both the Vaiṣṇavas and the Jains, which latter agreed to contribute one *panam* per Jain house for the expenses, this duty of protection of the Jains was entrusted to the particular Tātaḥārya (leading Vaiṣṇava)

¹ (1) Deva Yajña—ceremonial worship of the gods. (2) Pitṛ Yajña—ceremonial worship of the manes. (3) Brahma Yajña—ceremonial worship of the Ṛsis. (4) Būta Yajña—ceremonial worship of beings other than men. (5) Manuṣya Yajña—ceremonial worship of men.

of Tirupati. He was to collect the amount as stipulated above and provide a guard of twenty to keep the Jain Holy Place—Śravaṇa Belagoḷa. Out of what might be left over, he was gradually to carry out the repairs that the various Jain shrines in the kingdom needed, and hold himself responsible for keeping them in good condition.

Any one who should break this rule was declared traitor to the king, a traitor to the assembly (Sangha), and a traitor to the congregation, the former in all probability referring to the Jain community and the latter to the Vaiṣṇava. This trust the Tātāchārya appears to have carried out loyally as shown by the later endorsement, on the top of the said stone, that on an application to Bukka, the Tātāchārya came from Tirupati and had the particular shrine repaired and set right,

This seems to have been the usual kind of procedure followed in cases of dispute like the one referred to, and even in cases where there was no dispute, it seems to have been the practice to entrust these public charities, belonging to all religious communities, to the leading man in the locality, even though he should happen to be the head of a particular religious community other than the one to whose properties he was appointed trustee. This is amply demonstrated in the records of a principal Śaiva centre in Mysore, Balaganve, in the Shimoga District. The properties belonging to the Vaiṣṇava temples in the locality and the Jain communities were all placed under the management of a certain Vāma-Dēva, the head of the Veeraśaiva sect, a couple of centuries earlier than this record of Bukka. That this particular record of Bukka was set up in the various Jain Bastis, as directed, is proved by a couple of such copies having since been discovered by the epigraphists.

III

Temples and various items of temple management are matters for acute differences between the various parties concerned. The management of temple properties in general, and the conduct of temple festivities in particular, come in for judgment quite as often as other matters, perhaps more often. In a grant of a village made to the temple of Śiva at Āragalūr in the Āttūr Taluk of the Salem District, then included in the Magadai-maṇḍalam or Malāḍu, the donor carefully excluded the gifts previously made 'to temples, bhaṭṭas (Brāhmaṇas) and Jain shrines (Paḷlichandam)'. The grant refers to the gift of the village of Ālambalam in the same Maṇḍalam with all its income for instituting a service in the name of the King, and for celebrating a festival on his birthday every year. Obviously, therefore, it was a royal grant, or almost so. These grants are usually made by purchasing the village under donation from the previous owners, either individual or village communities, and the exclusion of gifts already made is quite necessary.

Although these grants are made with all care in regard to the rights and responsibilities involved, there have been attempts either not to carry out the various directions or even to commit positive malfeasance. On another occasion in the reign of the same monarch, who happened to be a Pandya King, by the way, a grant of one thousand *kūḷi* of land was made, rent free, by a Chief named Śādirāyan for the maintenance of two Brāhmanas for reciting the Veda in the temple. The *nāṭṭār* inhabiting the districts between the rivers Vēmbāru and Pennai were required by order of the King to assign certain specified taxes to the temple 'for the health of the King'. The tax was collected for two years by the community, but was not made over to the temple. The King having come to know of this, issued an order for the immediate payment of the tax to the temple, and warned the inhabitants that the negligence should not be repeated.

The same *nāṭṭār* figure in another transaction connected with the temple. The right of conducting the festivals seems to have belonged to the Chetti *nagarattār* of Āragalūr. But the oil-merchants (*Vāṇia* *nagarattār*) quarrelled with the Chettis, spoke disparagingly of them and offered to conduct the festivals themselves, probably because the festivals were not conducted with the splendour that would have pleased these oil-merchants. The supervisors of the temple sold the right by public auction and the right passed into the hands of the oil-merchants by outbidding. In course of time the festivals came to be neglected again, and it was now the turn of the Chettis who, protesting in strong terms against the discontinuance of the festivals, made a grant of a village for conducting them as usual, in conformity to the wishes of the Māhēśvaras and the Sthānikas of the temple. In this instance the dispute does not appear to have gone far enough to have been brought to the notice of the royal officers.

In the middle of the fifteenth century there came in for decision a dispute regarding the privilege of worship in the same temple. Three of the priests belonging to the temple of Kameśvara in the same village sold their share of the privilege of worship to a priest belonging to a temple in another village of the same division. The matter came before the Governor of the division, Tirumallināyaka by name, who framed the issues and gave the award as follows: Summing up the case and communicating his final orders to the managers of the temple at Āragalur, who were probably the complainants, Tirumallināyaka says:

(1) *A* has been enjoying for a long time the privilege of worshipping all the thirty days of the month in the temple, while actually only fifteen days belong to him by right, and fifteen days belong to another person named *B*; (2) the privilege of *B* thus enjoyed by *A* without proper authority, requires settlement; (3) in support of the latter part of the statement made in (1) there are records in the temple to prove that the fifteen days of *B* (now abandoned by him but enjoyed by *A*) have under orders been counted 'unclaimed' (*iṅgal*); (4) of this privilege of fifteen days

so declared unclaimed, you have sold (on your own responsibility) seven and half days to a third person *C* and given him a sale-deed; (5) by so doing you have deprived the acquired right of *A* enjoyed by him for the last eight or ten generations; (6) at this stage the Nāṭṭār (the leaders of the community) appear to have volunteered to settle the question of enjoyment—*A* being found issueless (?)—and to have called the parties to present themselves before them together with *A*; (7) you—the managers—were also required (under my orders) to be present on the occasion, to hear the case, and to carry out the decision arrived at by the Nāṭṭār and to have in the meantime, during this period of hearing (by the Nāṭṭār), the worship of the temple performed by outsiders, on Nāṭṭār payment; (8) *A* having then appealed to me while I happened to be present at Aragalur, to hear his case personally and give a just decision, I and the Nāṭṭār together advised the parties to put their case before the Mahājanas and issued an order to this effect; (9) in obedience to our order the Mahājanas of the Agraharas (Brahmin villages) of Kuḷattur, Ālambalam, Saḍayanpattu, Mattiyakurichi, met together, heard both sides and decided that although *A* may have been the hereditary holder of only fifteen days of the privilege, it was not fair to sell part of the disputed portion thereof to an outsider like *C* while the right to purchase (in virtue of long enjoyment) primarily rested in *A*; (10) accordingly, therefore, to this decision of the Mahājanas we order that *A* must continue to enjoy the full thirty days as before, and that the sale deed you have given to *C* should be cancelled.

It is clear from this that the seven and half days' right of worship was sold by the Śthānikas (managers of the temple), while *A* had the right of prescription and the proprietary right of *B* lapsed by neglect. The Nāṭṭār (probably here a particular community of the village) had jurisdiction in the first instance. The Governor of the Division puts it on his file on appeal by *A*. So far it is his executive order. But the case is actually tried, at his own instance and with the agreement of the Nāṭṭārs, by the Mahājanas of the four villages specified, forming probably one union, and the judgment is issued in their name by the executive officer of the Division. By the fact that the appeal was preferred before him, the Governor was competent to take the case on appeal. But he waives the right and puts it before the Mahājanas with commendable judiciousness.

IV

Among the various glimpses that we are able to gain in respect of the social order under which people lived under Hindu rule, not the least important is the light that is thrown upon merchant guilds by two or three records quite recently discovered. There appear to have been very powerful guilds of these merchants whose operations extended all over the country of India, and across the seas to Ceylon and Burma. These appear to have been known by the comprehensive designation of 'various countries' (*Nānādésis*). The reason for this designation is perhaps quite obvious, and may be interpreted

as having arisen from the fact, either that the community was formed of people from various countries or, what seems more likely, the community whose operations extended to various countries, had smaller communities—their divisions—in various parts. It is these *Nānādésis* that built the Vaiṣṇava shrine at Pagan in Burma in the twelfth century. A record from Baḷagāmi in the Mysore State, in a long eulogy of these merchants, describes them as having been praised in five hundred glorifying edicts (*Vīra-sāsanas*) that they were virtuous protectors of the Vira-Vaḷanjika religion, that they were born of Vāsudeva Kandali and Virabhadra, that they were the devotees of Bhaṭṭāraki (probably the goddess, Durga) and that they consisted of various divisions coming from the thousand districts of the four quarters, the eighteen towns, the thirty-two Velārpuram, and the sixty-four ghaṭikāsthānam, viz., Śeṭṭies, Śeṭṭiputras (probably equal to Śeṭṭypillai), Kavares, Kandalis, Bhadrakas, Gownḍaswamins, Śingam, Śirupuli, Valakkai, (Valangai) Vāriyan. They are further described as brave men 'born to wander over many countries ever since the beginning of the Kṛta age, penetrating the regions of the six continents, by land and water routes, and dealing in various articles such as horses, elephants, precious stones, perfumes, and drugs either wholesale or in retail'. This description finds justification in the colony already referred to in Burma and a far more powerful colony we shall refer to presently in Ceylon.

There is a curious decision at which this guild arrived—at a meeting they held just where we are in Mylapore, in reference to a village Kāṭṭūr. They resolved at this meeting that the village which hitherto was called Ayyapulal-Kāṭṭūr, be transformed into a Vīrapaṭṭina, thus exempting its inhabitants from all communal contributions and entitling them to receive twice what they used to get till then (in the matter of honorary privilege). This could mean no more than that they had larger rights of self-government than they had before. They resolved further that thenceforward the town was not to be inhabited by such of the mercantile classes (1) as demanded taxes and tolls by threatening people with drawn swords or by capturing them, curiously reminiscent of the Muhammadan money-lenders who make half-yearly visitations of villages even now; and (2) as wantonly deprived people of their food or otherwise afflicted them. They laid down that a breach of these resolutions made one liable to be excommunicated from the Vaḷanjiya community.

Another record relating to these communities coming from Basinikonda near Madanapalle, of almost about the same time (about the eleventh century), states that the community consisted of Nāḍu, Nagara, and Nāna-deśi, and that the special meeting called for communal purposes on that particular occasion consisted of 1,500 representatives of all religious denominations (*Samayas*) coming from the four and eight quarters (of the compass), and

also of their followers Eri-Viras, Munai-Viras, Īlam, Singa-Viras, Konga-Valaśa, and a host of other sects of various tenets, the Valangai-weavers, etc. The Conference was called for the purpose of declaring Siravalli a Nānadesīa-daśamaḍi-Erīvirapaṭṭana, and for conferring some privileges on the residents of that town. These appear to have been placed, however, under the supreme control of the Royal Officer in charge of the revenue collections of the part of the country in which the communities were located.

There is an interesting record, relating to these guilds and their servants in Ceylon, of the twelfth century. In the long rule of Vijaya Bāhu I, Śri Sanga Bodhi, there was a rebellion of Vēlaikāra forces in the thirtieth year of the King, when they were ordered to go to war with the Cholas.

These Vēlaikaras are taken by the translator of the *Mahāvamsa*, Mr. L. Wejesimha, to be "a body of mercenaries employed by the Singhalese King at this period". This term however occurs very often in the Tanjore inscriptions of the Chola kings, Raja Raja I and his son, as part of the name of various regiments composing the army of the Cholas, but a further record from Ceylon makes it clear that they were a community of working classes which included in it the Valangai, Idangai, Sirudhanam, Piḷḷaigal-dhanam, Vaḍugar, Malayālar, Parivārakondaṁ and others, and that its leaders (Mūḍadaigal) were the Vaḷanjiya and the Nagarattār. This makes it quite clear that the Vēlaikāras are no other than the communities of people already referred to as subordinate to the guilds of merchants, among whom were the Baṇajiga and Nagarattār communities whose trade extended all over the country. Baṇajigas and Nagrattārs are heard of, the former in Kanarese and Telugu countries and the latter in Kanarese and Tamil countries. They belong, in India, to both the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sects, and those in Ceylon were Buddhists (Mahātantra). The Vēlaikāras, whatever their religion, included as is made clear by this inscription, all working classes in India and were emigrants therefrom to Ceylon.

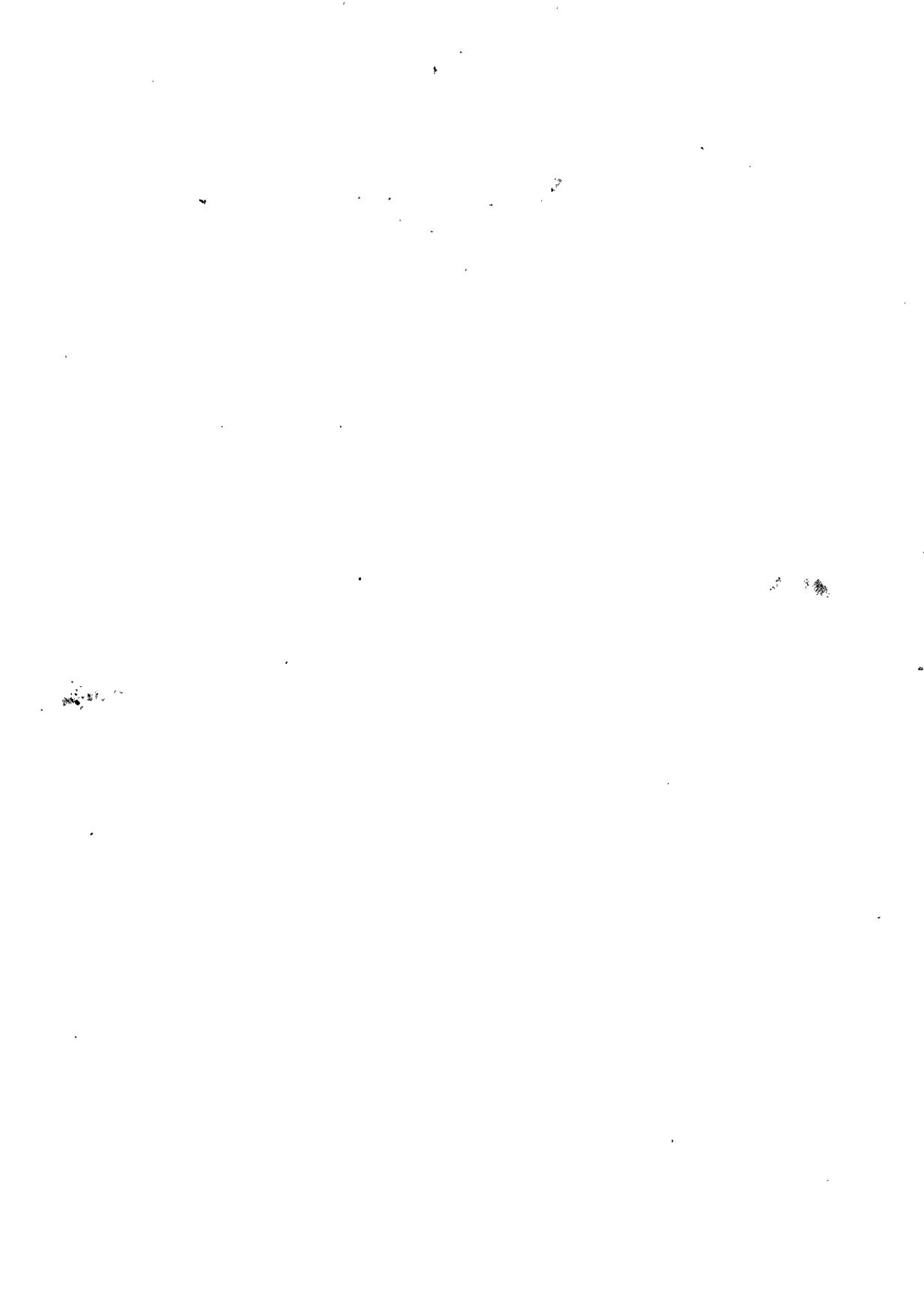
The rebellion of these Vēlaikāra forces referred to above seems to have been put down, and perhaps as a direct result thereof the Chief, Dēvasēna Vīrattār, under orders of Vijaya Bāhu constructed at Pulanari, otherwise Vijayarājapura, a shrine (Gandhakuṭi) called Daḷadāyaperumballi, now called Daladamaligawa. This was for housing the beautiful stone image of Buddha, wherein also dwelt permanently Daladapatradhātu-svamin of Uṭtoruḷmulai, the foreface of the original Abayagīrivihāra. It was on this occasion that the pious and learned royal preceptor Vyārinimula, the Mahāsthaviras of Uṭtoruḷmulai, together with the King's ministers, called for a meeting of the Mahātantra. These assembled together bringing with them their leaders the Vaḷanjiya and Nagarattār. They denominated the shrine, Mūṇṇugai-Vēlaikāran-Daḷadāyaperumballi. The latter two words indicate clearly that it was a Buddha shrine intended

for the worship of the Vēlaikāra community. The first word is not quite clear. It means three hands and may be interpreted as referring to the three principal divisions of the community. But another record makes this an attribute of an individual and seems therefore to refer merely to a particular community among the Vēlaikāras. These Vēlaikāras took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the temple and protecting it properly. As remuneration for this, each individual member of the Vēlaikāra community received one Vēli of land. They all gave the following undertaking :

We protect the villages belonging to the temple (Paḷli), its servants, property and those that sought asylum there, even though in doing this we lose ourselves or others suffer. We provide for all the requirements of the temple so long as our community continues to exist, repairing such parts of the temple as get dilapidated in course of time and we get this contract which is attested by us engraved on stone and copper so that it may last as long as the moon and sun endure.

We are thus enabled to see clearly what a powerful community the mercantile community was and what control they were able to exercise over the working classes generally, how far their operations extended actually and what powers these were able to exercise even in foreign countries. It is no wonder that we often hear in the chronicles of Ceylon of some of these merchants usurping the throne. Elsewhere also these communities, or their heads, are found to exercise great influence and control the revenue operations of large States.

The Commonweal.



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2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, in India and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.
4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretaries, Branch Secretaries, an Editor, and seven other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.

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ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
6	5	दवरोजे	देवराजे
6	15	प्रेतापदवराजेन	प्रतापदेवराजेन
6	16	रिपुरोज	रिपुराज
6	19	Read संमा in brackets after सन्मा at the end of l. 18, page 6.	
7	6	गङ्गादास	गङ्गादास
8	22	called in thirteenth	called in the thirteenth.
11	9	referred to.	referred to,
		Foot-note report fo.	report for.
	1, l. 2.		
12	21	his elder brothers.	his elder brother.
12	last line.	Nijāgraja . . . pārijāth.	Nijāgrajā . . . pārijāthaḥ.
13	27	Virtupākshaiti	Virtupāksha iti
18	7	Padeo Rao of Nuniz.	Padeo Rao of Nuniz,
18		'Add foot-note'	1. Asiatic researches, vol. xv, pp. 280-82.
19			'Delete foot-note'.
25	20	Nuniz statement	Nuniz' statement
28	22	elect to take to	elected to take to
30	27	affairs of Belgaum	affair of Belgaum
31	2	within showing the empire,	within, showing the empire
34	4	Narṣimh . . . Nrasimha	Nṛsimha . . . Narasimha
35	9	(dha) krit	(dh) a krit
47	17	July 29, 145.	July 29, 1485.
48	28	bean as Govrnors	began as Governors
65	5	genralissim	Generalissimo
68	4	Adilshah	Adil Shah
68	16	'title dushṭa rān mṛiga'	title 'dushṭa rān mṛiga
68	17	Śārdula	Śārdula'
68	19	Kāvērim āsu	Kāvērim āsu
72	17	Kaundinya-gotra.	Kaundinya-gotra,
73	20	step brother	step-brother
73	26	Tulu-raj by	Tulu-rajya by
78	last line.	Maahraja,	Mahārāja,
84	(26)	Pramāḍchi	Pramāḍcha
89	(46)	Dhārṇāthadāva	Dhārṇathadēva
89	(48)	Narasa Nyaka	Narasa Nāyaka
91	(57) Col.ii	arirya	arirāya.
	l. 3.		
	l. 4.	nḍu	nāḍu
	l. 5.	Kond	Konḍa
	l. 10.	Nykara	Nāyakara.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. VI.]

[No. 2

A LITTLE KNOWN CHAPTER OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY¹

Period A.D. 1450-1509

DOUBTS AND DIFFICULTIES IN THE SUBJECT

WE have already indicated that Dēva Rāya II died in all probability in A.D. 1448-9 (or Śaka 1369) and was succeeded by his son Mallikārjuna, in the same year. The accession of Mallikārjuna marks the beginning of decline, if not of Vijayanagar, at least of the dynasty that brought it into the prominent position that it occupied at the end of the first century of its existence. The following extract from Sewell's Vijayanagar will give an idea of the doubts and difficulties that beset the subject.

'I have already stated that the period following the reign of Dēva Rāya II is one very difficult to fill up satisfactorily from any source. It was a period of confusion in Vijayanagar—a fact that is clearly brought out by Nuniz in his chronicle.

A.D. 1449 is the last date in any known inscription containing mention of a Dēva Rāya and Dr. Hultzsch allots this to Dēva Rāya II. It may be, as already suggested, that there was a Dēva Rāya III, on the throne between A.D. 1444 and 1449, but this remains to be proved. Two sons of Dēva Rāya II, according to the inscriptions, were named Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha I respectively. There are inscriptions of the former dated in A.D.

¹ A lecture delivered before the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society with His Excellency Lord Pentland in the Chair (19-11-1915).

1452-3 and 1464-5, and one of the latter in 1470. Mallikārjuna appears to have had two sons, Rājasēkara, of whom we have inscriptions in the years A.D. 1479-80 and 1486-7, and Virūpāksha II., mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1483-84, three years earlier than the last of Rājasēkara.

Dr. Hultzsch, in the third volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 36, gives these dates, but in the fourth volume of the same work (p. 180) he notes that an inscription of Rājasēkara exists at Ambur in North Arcot, which is dated in the year corresponding to A.D. 1468-9. I have also been told of an inscription on stone to be seen at the village of Parnapalle (or Paranapalle) in the Cuddapah district, of which a copy on copperplate is said to be in the possession of one Narayana Reddi of Goddamari in the Tadpatri Taluk of the Anantapur district. This is reported to bear date Śaka 1398 (A.D. 1476-7), and to mention as sovereign 'Praudha Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagar.

Rājasēkara's second inscription must have been engraved very shortly before the final fall of the old royal house, for the first certain date of the usurper Narasimha is A.D. 1490.

Amid this confusion of overlapping dates we turn for help to Nuniz; but though his story gathered from tradition about the year 1535, is clear and consecutive, it clashes somewhat with the other records. According to him, Dēva Rāya II had a son Pina Rāya, who died six months after his attempted assassination; but we have shown that Abdur Razak conclusively establishes that this unfortunate monarch was Dēva Rāya II, himself and that the crime was committed before the month of April 1443. Pina Rāya left a son unnamed, who did nothing in particular, and was succeeded by his son, 'Verūpāca', by which name Virūpāksha is clearly meant. Virūpāksha was murdered by his eldest son, who in turn was slain by his younger brother, 'Padea Rao', and this prince lost the kingdom to the usurper Narasimha.

MALLIKARJUNA, SUCCESSOR OF DEVA RAYA II

We have already pointed out that there is no need to assume a Dēva Rāya III at all, and the account of Nuniz cannot be regarded accurate in regard to the details of the history of the period. There are a number of records of Mallikārjuna which make his position in respect of his predecessors clear. These further give the information that he had the name Dēva Rāya or more specifically Immaḍi Praudha (or Pratāpa) Dēva Rāya. Nagar 65 has it clearly

tayōḥ prāchīna puṇyānām paripāka viśēshataḥ
svīya janmāntraprāptā bhāgya bhōga phalāyahi
Mallikārjunadēvasya Śrīgirau sannivāsinah
Varōtta-kṛta-tannāma-kumāraḥ-samajāyata
pitariyuparatē śrīmān dhīraḥ paramadhārmikah
Immaḍi (praudha) dēvendro rājābhūt jagatīpatiḥ.

‘to them (Dēva Rāya II and Ponnalā Dēvi) from the ripening of the merit of their good works in their previous lives, as the result of his own merits in a former existence, while the pair were in residence in the glorious hill of Mallikārjuna, the excellent son was born to whom was given the name of the God. When his father died, the valiant dutiful prince became king as Immaḍi Dēvendra.’

tējo nidhēr ajani bhūmipatēr amṇshmāch chrī Mallikārjuna iti prathitaḥ
kumārah

Śauryādhībhir guṇa-gaṇairadhikam cha tātāch chamsanti-yam nripatim
Immaḍi Dēva Rāyaḥ.

It is thus clear that Dēva Rāya II was succeeded after his death by his son Mallikārjuna and that he had the alternative name Dēva Rāya as well, because he was regarded twice as valiant as his father. He assumed also the special attribute of the father ‘the elephant-hunter’. As Mr. Sewell points out Ferishta has no wars against Vijayanagar to record between the years A.D. 1443 and 1458, the date of death of Sultan Allaud-din of the Bhamani kingdom. With the death of this monarch, however, affairs in the Bhamani kingdom drift rapidly towards the disruption that was ultimately accomplished in the eighties of the fifteenth century.

GANGĀDĀSAPRATĀPAVILĀSAM

We gain, however, some light beating over the dark spot from an unlooked for source. In a drama known as Gangādāsaprataṭāpavilāsam occurs a passage which may be rendered freely as follows :—

‘While Pratāpa Dēva Rāya the Indra of Vijayanagar, with the various titles, usually ascribed to Dēva Rāya II, went to adorn the court of Indra (went to heaven or died), the throne of the kingdom was occupied by his son Śrī Mallikārjuna. Having heard this, the Sultan of the south and Gajapati made war upon him with an innumerable army of elephant, horse and foot. While they lay round Vijayanagar, Mallikārjuna quite unable to tolerate this sallied out of the fort, like a lion-cub from a mountain-cave upon a heard of elephants, and drowned the armies of Hayapati and Gajapati in the flood caused by his sword. Both the Gajapati and the Yavanapati fled each by himself alone back to his kingdom.’¹

¹ Eggeling’s Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, part vii, p. 1610.

गङ्गादासप्रतापविलासनाटके द्वितीयेऽङ्के नाट्यकारः—आकर्ष्यताम्, पूर्वपश्चिमदक्षिणसमुद्राधीश्वरे ह्यपतिगजपतिनरपतिरायसुवर्णपुत्तलाङ्कितवामचरणबिरुदतोडराडम्बरे महाराजाधिराजराजपरमेश्वरे राजकठारीविनेत्रे राजगजबेटकारे रिपुराजगजगण्डभेरुण्डावतारे विजयनगरी-

The following points deserve attention in this. The invasion of Vijayanagar took place as a result of the change of rulers. The Bhamani Sultan referred to as the southern Sultan, Hayapati (ruler of horse) and Yavana-

पुरन्दरे श्रीमत्प्रतापद्वरोजे महेन्द्रसमालङ्कारे सति तत्कुमारेण श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनराजेन साध्वा-
ज्यसिंहासनमधिष्ठितम्, तदाकर्ण्य दक्षिणसुरत्राणेन गजपतिना च पूर्वपराभूताभ्यामुभाभ्या-
ममितहयगजपदातिभ्यां संभूयाभिषेचनमकारि । विजयनगरमावृत्य स्थितं तावदसहमानो
गजबलं भ्रगेन्द्रशाब इव गिरिकन्द्राद् विजयनगरतः श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनराजो बहिर्निर्गम्य निशि-
ततरकरवालधाराजलप्रवाहवाहिनीपूरे हयपतिगजपतिसैन्यमशेषमजयत् । गजपतिः स्वदेहमात्रा-
वशेषः पलाय्य निरगाद् यवनपतिश्च । तदनन्तरं श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनराजेन रणघूतविजिताम्
हयगजान् सकलमहीमण्डलकलावत्करकमलसात्कृतवता तस्यामेववेलायां निजजनकेन श्रीप्रतापदे-
वराजेन दिव्यरत्नरचितकटककुण्डलहारकनकदण्डचामरयुगलमौक्तिकच्छत्ररिपुराजगजगण्डभेदण्ड-
निजबिरुदपदकहयगजनरपतिराजकविपुत्तलाङ्किते (तं) बिरुदतोडरं दत्वा निजकीर्तिजगङ्गाया
भगीरथीकृत्य सन्मानितश्चिराद्गङ्गाधरो (संभा)ऽनवद्यविद्याबलेन दिग्विजयाय यातः संप्रति कास्त
इति पृष्टम् । तदातदानीमेवोत्तरदिगन्तरालात्समागतेन केनचिद्वैतालिकेन महाराजस्य कीर्तिमाहि-
माचलं कृत्वा द्वारकायात्वां विधायाह्लादाबादनगरे गूर्जरसुरत्राणस्य महाद्वारे वामचरणे बिरु-
दतोडरं निधाय सभाकोविदान्मूकीकृत्य षण्मासानुषित्वा ततो निर्गम्य पावाचलाधीश्वरं चम्प-
कपुरपुरन्दरं श्रीगङ्गादासभूवल्लभं द्रष्टुं समागतः । तत्र श्रीगङ्गादासभूवल्लभेन लोकोत्तर
गविद्योर्जितां कवितां विलोक्य सन्तुष्टेन बहुमानदानैः परितोष्य मञ्चरित्राभिनयनाटकं भवता
विधेयमित्युक्तः करोमीति स्वीकृत्य लोकोत्तरं नाटकमकार्षीत्, तदद्भुतमाकर्ण्य गङ्गादासभूवल्लभो
बहुकनकरत्नैरापादतलमस्तकं तमापूरयत् । अस्य नाटकस्याभिनयं कर्तुं कश्चिन्नाट्यकारस्समागच्छे-
दिति राजा चिन्तां करोतीत्युक्ते श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनराजेन साधु कथितमस्मच्चिन्ता दूरीकृतेति
बहुदानपुरस्सरं स वैतालिकः सन्मानितः (संभा) ।

तदानीं तदास्थानस्थितेन रिपुनाट्यकारवारणमदनिवारणपञ्चाननेन मया तदाकर्ण्य तन्ना-
टकमहं नाट्यरसिकोऽभिनयेष्यामीत्यत्र सोत्कण्ठमागतोऽस्मि । तावन्मम भारयगुणेन महाराजोऽपि
महाकालमहामहोत्सवे कलाकुतूहलानि विलोक्यन्नेव मज्जनगोचरः समजनि । तदहं महारा-
जस्य युवराजत्वमारभ्य रूपकाभिनयाय नेपथ्याभिनयनाय गच्छामि । पश्यतु महाराजः । इति
निष्क्रान्तः ॥

pati (Yavana ruler) and the Gajapati (ruler of Orissa) were allied against Vijayanagar. The subject of the drama springs out of an heroic episode in one of the wars of the Sultan of Guzerat against a Hindu chief of Pāvachala feudatory to him.

Professor Eggeling refers this war to the war of A.D. 1449. The invasion must have taken place soon after the accession of Mallikārjuna and should have been in the years A.D. 1449 or 1450. There is absolutely no mention of this or any war at all in Ferishta at this period.

ORISSA INVASION

The history of Orissa at the time throws some light upon the uncertainty. The ruling Ganga dynasty of Orissa had reached the stage of inani- tion with the death of Narasing Rai Langora, as he was called in thirteenth century A.D. He was followed in succession by two lines called Ganga or Nara- singa and Bānu. The last Bānu had been overthrown by the Muhammdans of Bengal who carried with them as prisoner the minister Kapilēśvara Bhowarbar. When the ruler died Kapilēśvara came to the throne, according to the researches of Stirling and Mon Mohan Chakravarti in A.D. 1434-5. His reign which extended up to A.D. 1369-70 was one of constant war in the course of which he lays claim to having made various conquests among them Vijayanagar. In the inscription at a temple to Jagannātha in Katak District, he is referred to as 'Karnāṭājahāsasimha and Kaḷavaragajayī' the yawning lion to the sheep the Karnāṭa king' and the victor over Kaḷavaraga (Kulberga).¹ In the inscrip- tions of this ruler examined by Mr. M. M. Chakravarti these titles are not assumed by him up to his nineteenth *anka* which is computed to be the same as his sixteenth year², that is up to the year A.D. 1450. In an inscription of his forty-first *anka* these are assumed and the inscription from which the above are taken belong to about the same time, his thirtieth year or about A.D. 1465. It seems possible then that the statement in the drama Gangādāsapratāpa- vilāsam is founded upon fact. That is not all. The drama makes a further statement that these two allies attacked Vijayanagar, after the death of Dēva Rāya II 'to wipe off the disgrace of former defeats'. If this means anything at all, it is that the Rāya of Orissa had figured in the earlier wars of Allud-d-din against Vijayanagar in A.D. 1437 to 1443.

BHAMANI INVASION

Notwithstanding the silence of the Muhammadan historians in regard to this war, so much is clear that the death of Dēva Rāya brought on a Muhammadan invasion, possibly in concert with another by the ruler of Orissa with whom the Bhamani kingdom came into touch by the absorption

¹ J.A.S., Bengal, Vol. lxix, part i, pp. 173-190.

² *Ibid.*, vol. lxii, p. 90, *et seq.*

of Telingana on the one side and the conquest of a large part of Gondwana by Malwa on the other. This seems the more likely from what Abdur Razak states about the previous war as a result of the attempt on the life of Dēva Rāya II. We have also to take it that Mallikārjuna had the best of it from the silence of the Muhammadan historians on the one hand, and on the other from the actual political condition at the time of the Bhamani Kingdom, and its relations with the neighbouring chiefs Hindu and Mussalman on the other frontiers. An alliance or a mere understanding to engage the attention of Vijayanagar would account for the appearance of Kapilēśvara of Orissa in the affair. It is this advance of Kapilēśvara that will have to account for the move of the Sāluva chief Narasinga from the middle region to the Telingana frontier.

BOTH POSSIBLE

Mallikārjuna then began well by beating off the enemy who threatened the existence of Vijayanagar, and seems to have gone on well enough for a few years. His rule must have lasted on to at least 1465 (Saka 1387). In 1459 (Saka 1381) we hear of Mallikārjuna 'ruling in happiness in Penugonḍa on business connected with administration (rājakārya) of Narasinga'. What is more than this he is said to have been there with his Daṇḍayaka Timmaṇa. It is soon after this date that an invasion of the Coromandel region as far as Kanchi was successfully undertaken by Kapilēśvara, who has it in the inscription already referred to.

'Having made him (Gopinātha Mahāpatra) the Commander-in-Chief, him who defeated the Maḷava king, who stood as a bar to the inroad of the Gauḍa king, the monarch Kapilēśvara enjoyed the Lakshmi (Śrī) of the Karnāṭa, levied taxes (tributes better) over the Khaṇḍa hill, and carried Kanchi by force.'¹

Kṛtvā samyati mājavēndra-jayinam sēnādhināthamtuyam,
Gaudēndrasya nitāntam—Utkala pathā-prasthāna-rōdh-ārgaḷam
Śrī Khaṇḍādri payōdharō parikaram nirmāya Kānchiharaḥ
Sānandam Kapilēśvarō viharatē Karnāṭa rāja Śrīyā.

This invasion coupled with one upon Kanchi by the Pandyas in the year 1469² clearly indicates the causes that brought about the dismemberment of the Empire on the one side and the gradual ascent of Narasinga to supreme power on the other. The foreign invasion from distant Orissa through provinces directly under the Government of Narasinga, and the attempt in the remoter provinces to throw off allegiance indicate a clear decline of power at head-quarters. What was the part that Narasinga himself played in this? What could have brought about the feebleness in the ruling family?

¹ Jagannātha inscription of Kapilēśvara : verse 14 ; J.A.S., Bengal, vol. Ixix, part i, pp. 173-190. and Epigraphist's report for 1906-7, p. 55.

² Epigraphist's report for 1906-7, p. 56.

VIRŪPAKSHA, MALLIKĀRJUNA'S BROTHER AND SUCCESSOR

'Virūpaksha should have succeeded to the throne in Saka 1387' according to Mr. Krishna Sastri, who seems inclined to regard him as the son of Mallikārjuna. Virūpaksha's dates range between A.D. 1466 and 1485. What is more, Mr. Sastri rejects Professor Kielhorn's acceptance of Virūpaksha as the son of Dēva Rāya II. by Simhaḷā Dēvi, and would regard him rather as the son of Dēva Rāya II's brother, Pratāpa Dēva 'who acquired the kingdom from his elder brothers.' Both Mr. Sastri and the late Professor Kielhorn refer to the same passage¹ that Mr. Rice interpreted as referring to the Vijayanagar Princess married into the Bhamani family.

Mr. Sastri's interpretation would introduce an additional letter into the inscription for which, I am afraid, we have no warrant short of convincing proof that it is an error. Of such compelling need there is none such in this connection as Pratāpa Dēva did not rule at all and could not have obtained any *rājyam* from his elder brother other than those he governed at various places for his brother as did the various younger brothers before him. What is of importance in this connexion is Mr. Sastri takes this part to refer not to Dēva Rāya II. but to his brother Pratāpa Dēva. This interpretation seems quite improbable, and would be altogether impossible without the modification of the reading he implies—'Nijāgrajā prāptam' will have to be read 'Nijāgrājāt-prāptam.' Even so the meaning would hardly suit the expressions in the rest of the passage. The Virūpaksha of this record must be regarded a brother of Mallikārjuna.

VIRUPAKSHA, POSSIBLY A USURPER

The passage immediately following in the same record seems to let us into the secret of the trouble that brought the State low indeed in vitality at a time when forces were gathering round to try her strength to the utmost extreme.

Tasyām Śivahprādur abhūd guṇādhyō nāmnā Virūpaksha iti prasiddhah,
Rājadhiraḥ kṣhitipāla mauliḥ vadānya mūrtiḥ karuṇaika sindhuḥ
Nijapratāpād adhigatya rājyam samasta bhāgyaih parisēvyamānaḥ
Sangrāmatas sarvaripūn vijitya sammōdatē virā vilāsa bhūmiḥ.

'Śiva was born of her, of excellent qualities, known by the name Virūpaksha, king of kings the crown of rulers on earth, an incarnation of bountifulness, an unparalleled ocean of mercy. Having acquired the kingdom by his own valour, and being in the full enjoyment of all that is

¹ Archaeologist's Annual for 1907-8, p. 225, note 5.

² Tasya (Vijayabhūpatēḥ) Nārāyaṇī Dēvyām prādhurasit Yaśodhanah
Praudha pratāpa Vibhavaḥ Pratāpakhyō mahīpatiḥ
Guṇairanēkhairavanitalesmin Virājamānaḥ Sukṛtāpta
Kīrtir Nijāgrajaprāptamanādirājyam Sādhyakṛtārthi Vraja pārijātaḥ.

enjoyable, and having conquered all his enemies in war, he lives in happiness as the very hall of display for the goddess of valour'. The phrase, 'Nijapratāpad adhigatyarājyam' having conquered the kingdom by his own valour seems to indicate forcible acquisition of the kingdom either from his elder brother or it may be from his young nephews. Is there any warrant for such an assumption from the known circumstances of the time?

We have already noticed that the danger from the Bhamani kingdom had ceased to be imminent after the attempt which Mallikārjuna is said to have foiled by his own effort. The danger lay more on the side of Orissa. Telingana had ceased to be a buffer for almost a generation. The country between Rajamandri and Warangal happened now to be the scene of active but almost of guerilla warfare. The chieftains of forts were giving trouble to the Mussalman governors of the Bhamani Sultans, whose affairs at home were anything but peaceful. Kapilēśvara was an enterprising ruler and had come to the throne of Orissa with the support of the Muhammadan state of Bengal. About the time we have come to, he had reached the summit of his glory, and almost to the end of his reign. Malwa was making rapid advance on the side of Gondwana bringing Orissa on the one side and Ahmadnagar on the other as its immediate neighbour. In this posture of affairs, we need not be surprised if we see Śaḷuva Narasimha moving up from his province in the middle region towards the north where there was fighting to be done. This move on his part towards the most vulnerable frontier was an act of benefit both to his king and kingdom. What then is the significance of Mallikārjuna and his Dāṇaika Timmaṇa's move to Penukonda on the business of Narasinga's kingdom? Was it jealousy of the rising power of the chief or was it the suspicion engendered by incapacity at head-quarters? It may be either or both. Whatever it was, it was about six years later that we come upon the change of rulers and Virūpaksha's accession possibly indicates the change at head-quarters of a stronger ruler instead of a weaker one with the result that Narasinga perhaps leaves the head-quarters severely alone. Kapilēśvara dies about the same time and is succeeded by Purushōttama whose rule covers the period 1469-70 to 1495-6. It is this ruler that led an army according to Ferishta in support of Rajamandri and Konḍapalli and marched as far as Kaulas. If Ferishta is to be taken at his word the Orissa monarch was beaten back into his dominions and a treaty imposed upon him the terms of which, as usual, do not go very much beyond the demand for twenty-five elephants. On his return he reduced various fortresses among them Konḍapalli, and is then said to have gone against the dominions of Narasinga, of whom Ferishta has the following referring to A.D. 1477. "Narasing Ray was a powerful Raja possessing the country between the Carnatic and Telingana, extending along the sea coast to Muchlypatam and had added much of the Bijanagar territory to his own by conquest, together with several strong forts. He had frequently

incited the zemindars on the Bhamani frontier to rebel; and the officers on the borders, unable to control his power, had more than once represented his conduct to court, which had, at length, induced the king to attack him'.¹ This passage gives us an insight into what Narasinga was about and why he gradually moved himself northwards.

BHAMANI SUCCESSES AGAINST VIJAYANAGAR

Before this, however, Muhammad Shah II. had made two successful attempts against Vijayanagar on the western side. The first was the taking of Goa by Muhammad Gawan in 1469 and the next was the taking of Belgaum in 1472. The first was brought about according to Barros as a reprisal for a massacre of the Muhammadans of Bhāṭkal for having sold horses to the 'moors of the Dekkan'. The King of Vijayanagar ordered his vassal chief at Honawar to 'kill all those moors as far as possible and frighten the rest away.' The survivors fled and settled in Goa. This loss according to Nuniz, along with that of the ports of Chaull and Dabull occurred in the reign of Virūpāksha.²

These various operations between the years 1469 and 1481 give the impression that the Empire of Vijayanagar was in a bad way and one prominent man in it, at any rate, understood the need of united strength. That was Narasinga. Ferishta's description of the position of Narasinga and the mention in the *Burhan-i-Máasir* of Mālūr as a principal fort in his kingdom from which Kanchi was attacked, and the utter absence of any reference to the ruling power in all these transactions indicate a want of understanding between Narasinga and Virūpāksha which would warrant the inference that Virūpāksha perhaps came to the throne by means which did not commend themselves to the powerful Viceroys, and that he did not possess the qualities that a ruler at the time and in the circumstances of Vijayanagar should have had in ample measure. Narasinga was seconded in all his efforts by another powerful general Narasa Naik, and the manner in which the former left all power in the latter's hands at his death in spite of his having two sons go to prove clearly that his usurpation had no unworthy motive leading up to it. Virūpāksha probably had sons, one of whom was Prauḍa Dēva Rāya, Mr. Krishna Sastri refers to as the Padeo Rao of Nuniz-Rajasekara and Virūpāksha II. being the sons of Mallikārjuna. These would be supported by the party of loyalists as against that of the usurping uncle and his children. With these explanations in mind the account of Nuniz will become clear in regard to its general trend, if not in regard to all his

¹ Briggs's *Ferishta* II, 398-9.

² Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 99.

details. The position then is this. Mallikārjuna died in 1465-6 or thereabouts and his half-brother succeeded setting aside two nephews, Rājāsākara and Virūpāksha. These naturally created a powerful party against him, and he was perhaps not quite worthy of the exalted position. He managed to go on, however, letting a succession of misfortunes befall the empire to the disgust of the more powerful generals and governors. It may be he died or was murdered by his son even, Narasinga exerting himself all along to keep the empire intact despite the attacks of the Bhamani sultans on the one side, and the Gajapatis of Orissa on the other. The Gajapati Prushōttama, the successor son of Kapilēśvara, claims to have captured Kanchi and taken among the prisoners the King's daughter whom he married subsequently under romantic circumstances.¹ The following account of Nuniz will now become intelligible.

NUNIZ ACCOUNT

' After his (Pina Rao's) death a son remained to him who inherited the kingdom and was called . . . and this king, as soon as he began to reign, sent to call his treasurers and the minister and the scribes of his household, and inquired of them the revenue of his kingdom, and learned how much revenue came in yearly ; and His Highness had every year thirteen millions of gold. This King granted to the pagodas a fifth part of the revenue of his kingdom ; no law is possible in the country where these pagodas are, save only the law of the Brahmans, which is that of priests ; and so the people suffer.

On the death of this King succeeded a son named Verupacarao. As long as he reigned he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women, and to fuddle himself with drink and amuse himself, and never showed himself either to his captains or to his people ; so that in a short time he lost that which his forefathers had won and left to him. And the nobles of the kingdom, seeing the habits and life of this king, rebelled, every one of them, each holding to what he possessed, so that in his time the king lost Goa, and Chaull, and Dabull, and the other chief lands of the realm. This king in mere sottishness slew many of his captains. Because he dreamed one night that one of his captains entered his chamber, on the next day he had him called, telling him that he had dreamed that night that the captain entered his room to kill him ; and for that alone he had him put to death. This king had two sons already grown up, who, seeing the wickedness of their father and how he had lost his kingdom, determined to kill him, as in fact was done by one of them, the elder, who was his heir ; and after he had killed him, when they besought him to be king, he said, " Although this kingdom may be mine by right,

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. xv, pp. 280-82.

I do not want it because I killed my father, and did therein that which I ought not to have done, and have committed a mortal sin, and for that reason it is not well that such an unworthy son should inherit the kingdom. Take my brother and let him govern it since he did not stain his hands with his father's blood ;" which was done, and the younger brother was raised to the throne. And when they had entrusted the kingdom to him he was advised by his minister and captains that he should slay his brother, because as the latter had killed his father so he would kill him if desirous of so doing ; and as it appeared to the king that such a thing might well be, he determined to kill him, and this was at once carried out, and he slew him with his own hand. So that this man truly met the end that those meet with who do such ill deeds. This king was called Padearao ; and after this was done he gave himself to his women, and not seeking to know ought regarding his realm save only the vices in which he delighted, he remained for the most part in the city.

One of his captains who was called Narsymgua who was in some manner akin to him, seeing his mode of life, and knowing how ill it was for the kingdom that he should live and reign, though all was not yet lost, determined to attack him, and seize on his lands ; which scheme he at once put into force.

He wrote therefore, and addressed the captains and chiefs of the kingdom, saying how bad it was for them not to have a king over them who could govern properly, and how it would be no wonder, seeing the manner of his life, if the king soon lost by his bad government even more than his father had done.'

THE EXPLANATION OF THIS ACCOUNT

In this extract the following points require to be noted. It was Pina Rao's son that is nameless. If Pina Rao is taken to stand for Dēva Rāya II, then the peaceful monarch who led a life of peaceful administration and pious benefaction would be Mallikārjuna, a not untrue characterization altogether. He was succeeded by his son according to Nuniz. There are inscriptions which indicate unmistakably that Mallikārjuna's son Rājasēkara, succeeded, followed probably by Virūpāksha II. the younger brother for whom we have a date A.D. 1499. This is the legitimist succession. Rājasēkara, however, seems to have been ousted at Vijayanagar by Virūpāksha the uncle while some of the provinces at any rate recognized Rājasēkara. Virūpāksha's unworthiness and cruelty which is quite understandable in his position brought on perhaps his death at the hands of his own son who made room, perhaps, for a younger brother who might well have been a Prauda Dēva Rāya as the grandson of Dēva Rāya II. Nuniz' account would thus be reconciled with the information derivable from inscriptions if the possibility

of error in regard to Virūpāksha being brother instead of son be admitted. There is absolutely no need to concede the accuracy of Nuniz in this particular and other facts need not be twisted to agree with his account.

ANOTHER THEORY

There is, however, another theory of this same transaction, the usurpation of Sāluva Narasimha, which requires to be considered. This is the theory put forward by Mr. Narasimhachariar, the Mysore Archaeologist. The following is his theory in his own words.¹

'This chief belonged to the Sāluva family. He was the real ruler of the Vijayanagar kingdom for nearly forty years from about 1455 to 1493, in which latter year he appears to have died, this being the earliest known date of his son Sāluva Narasinga II. The last four rulers of the first dynasty which he supplanted were kings only in name, the real power being held in his own hands. Thus, so far back as 1459 we see him sending away Mallikārjuna to Penugonḍa (Mandya 12 and 59), and putting in 1462 his own minister Tirumalayanna-dalapa on the throne of Mallikārjuna (Bowlingpet 24). This Tirumalayanna may be his own elder brother Timma and identical with the Sāluva Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja mentioned in No. 23 of Vol. II of *South Indian Inscriptions*. This Timmarāja, son of Guṇḍarāja, makes a grant in 1463 (*Madras Annual Report* for 1904, No. 249) for the merit of his younger brother Sāluva Narasinga I. Again, in 1468, during the nominal rule of Virūpāksha, we find a grant made for Narasinga's merit (Mulbāgal 20); and in 1470 and 1472, during the same rule, we find Narasinga and his general Īśvara-Nāyaka, father of Narasa, making grants for the merit of each other (Mulbagal 253 and Bowlingpet 104). In 1472 he is styled *mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* (*South Indian Inscriptions*. No. 116). This title appears to have continued till 1484 in which year he is mentioned as ruling (Māgaḍi 32). Mulbāgal 104 mentions Narasinga's administration of the kingdom in 1485, naming at the same time Virūpāksha as the ruler. The usurpation of the throne most probably took place in 1486-87.'

CRITICISM OF THE THEORY

The first point to call for remark in this theory is that Mr. Narasimhachariar's interpretation of the records of A.D. 1459 can hardly bear the interpretation he puts upon them when the records merely say that Mallikārjuna and Dappāyaka Timmaṇa were 'ruling in happiness in Penugonḍa in connexion with the administrative business of Narasinga.'² The record 24 of Bowlingpet which specifically states that Mallikārjuna was on the throne

¹ Administration Report for 1903, p. 19.

² Md. 12 and 59 of Saka 1381 already referred to.

while Narasinga's officer Tirumalayanna was in charge of the province concerned. This misunderstanding seems to be due to the peculiar Tamil expressions which are ordinary elipses. These are 'Mallikārjuna Rāyar-singādanattil' which can be rendered on the throne of Mallikārjuna though in this passage the construction requires the supply of a verb, as the locative 'on the throne' will otherwise be incomplete. There is no doubt that Saḷuva Narasimha had an elder brother Timma who made a grant for the merit of his younger brother which, at the most can mean he held a province under him from the locality and other details connected with the grant. Nor can the exchange of courtesies indicated in the rest of the section be held to support the inference that Narasinga held any higher position than that of a powerful governor under Mallikārjuna. When Virūpāksha occupied the throne, however, the same binding obligation of allegiance was not felt for the monarch by the powerful chieftain, though the act of usurpation came later, only when there was no alternative left to save the empire from complete disruption and ultimate ruin. Such a statement of the general trend of affairs might have reached Nuniz correctly while there might have been errors in regard to details.

CONCLUSIONS DERIVABLE

Perishta's statement coupled with the information derivable from the inscriptions would warrant the assumption that Narasinga was consolidating his provinces under the rule of Mallikārjuna. The accession of Virūpāksha probably by violence alienated his sympathies, as those of others. When matters grew worse under his sons Narasinga usurped the throne as a step necessary for the preservation of the empire though during the whole of his lifetime he seems to have had a nominal ruler. Nuniz' statement in regard to a length of reign of forty-four years could be accounted for by taking it as the whole period of his influence and power as viceroy first, and then *de facto* ruler. This seems the trend of events indicated by the known facts and other assumptions seem hardly called for.

INFLUENCE OF ORISSA ON VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY

We have indicated above the trend of events which led to the overthrow of the first dynasty of rulers at Vijayanagar by the Viceroy Saḷuva Narasimha who ultimately took the empire into his own hands. The main influencing factor in this upward move of Narasimha was the power of Kapilēśvara Dēva of Orissa, as we have shown. This particular influence has to be investigated carefully to understand the real character of Narasimha's usurpation. King Dēva Rāya II. died in 1448-9, and Sultan Allau-d-din II Bhamani died in 1457 according to the Burhan-i-Māasir. Kapilēśvara Bhowarbar became King of Orissa in 1435 and ruled on till 1470.

BURHAN-I-MÁASIR

According to the Burhan-i-Máasir again Telingana was reduced to subjection about the end of the reign of Ahmed Shah Wali Bhamani. It was in 1435, the year of accession of Kapilēśvara that Sanjar Khan, Governor of Telingana, comes into contact with the 'Uriya leader of the infidels of Telingana'.¹ The ruler of Orissa is already referred to as possessed of a very large number of elephants as against 150 which was all that the Bhamani Sultans had.

In the year 1457-8, Humayun the cruel laid siege to Dēvarakonda 'in the course of a jihād'. 'After the lapse of some days, the defenders of the fortress being reduced to extremities, sent a message to the Ray of Uriya (Orissa) who at the time was *chief of the infidels of that country*'. He agreed to assist 'from greed of gain' and 'for the defence of paganism'.

Then came the invasion of the Bhamani kingdom by the Ray of Orissa, soon after the accession of the Sultan Nizam Shah in 1461.

In the year 1470, the queen-mother of the Bhamani Sultan, Makdumah Jahan died. 'In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Telingana and informed the Sultan that the Rāya of Orissa, who was the principal Ray of Telingana was dead'. There was a Bhamani invasion of Telingana in consequence in the course of which Rajamandri and Kondavid were besieged and taken before the year 1471.

In the year 1474 Wairagarh was invaded and taken from Jatak Ray. An army was sent against the southern Mahratta country.² In this same year 1474 and in the midst of these occurrences Khwajah Jahan Khwajah Mahammad Gawan informed the Sultan that the perfidious Perkatapah had withdrawn his head from the collar of obedience, and raising the standard of revolt had taken possession of the island of Goa. He added: 'With Your Majesty's permission I will go and put down this rebellion and chastise that accursed one, conquer the whole country of *Kanara* and *Vijayanagar* and annex them to the dominions of Islam'. Belgaum fell in the course of this war. A famine broke out this year and lasted for two years, owing to a succession of failure of the monsoon.

'In the midst of these affairs' that is about 1475-6 the Ray of Orissa invaded Telingana and beat back Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri for safety to Wazirabad. The Sultan arrived with reinforcements and marched upon Rajamandri.

'When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Rajamandri, they saw an immense city, on the farther side of which the infidel Narasimha Raya with 70,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron

¹ Indian Antiquary, vol. XXVIII, pp. 215-6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 237.

had taken his stand. On this side of the river he dug a deep ditch, on the edge of which he had built a wall like the rampart of Alexander, and filled it with cannon and guns and all the apparatus of war. Yet notwithstanding all this army and pomp and pride and preparation, when Narasimha Raya heard of the arrival of the Sultan's army, thinking it advisable to avoid meeting their attack, he elected to take to flight'. Rajamandri fell in consequence and its governor was enrolled among the Turki, Telangi and Habshi slaves!

In the year 1480 the Sultan laid siege to Kondavīḍ to put down a rebellion 'of his subjects who, throwing themselves upon the protection of Narasimha Raya had altogether withdrawn from the allegiance to the rule of Islam'. Kondavīḍ fell in time.

'After the conclusion of the affair at Kondavid agreeably to his desires, it occurred to the Sultan that the extensive plains are open only to military operations up to the rainy season, and the eradication of the worshippers of Lāt and Manāt, and the destruction of the infidels was an object much to be desired; and as the infidel Narasimha—who owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions was the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Telingana and Vijayanagar had latterly shown delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court by sending presents and *nalbahā*; therefore the best course to adopt was to trample his country under the hoofs of his horses, and level the buildings with the ground.

It has been related that this Narasimha had established himself in the midst of the countries of Kanarah and Telingana and taken possession of most of the districts of the coast and interior of Vijayanagar'.

The Sultan then marched to Kondavīḍ and advancing about forty farsakhs (about 136 miles, actual distance 270 miles) arrived within sight of the fortress of Malur, the greatest fort of the country. Narasimha in 'sheer terror made the usual presents and submitted without the least show of fight. Information then reaching him of the richness of the temple and city of Ganji (Kanchi) at a distance of fifty farsakhs (about 170 miles, actual distance in a straight line is 120 miles). Coming up at the head of a select force he laid seige to the city on a date corresponding to March 12, 1481; and sacked it. He ordered an 'elegant poetical account of this celebrated victory to be written, and copies distributed throughout his dominions'.

MURDER OF MUHAMMAD GAWAN

This was followed by the conspiracy against, and the murder in cold blood of Muhammad Gawan and all the evil consequences that flowed therefrom. It is clear from this narrative of the Mussalman historian, that thanks to the exertions of the Queen-mother Makdumah Jahan there was

peace between the Bhamani kingdom and Malwa through the intervention of the Guzerat Sultan. Vijayanagar was simultaneously exposed to attacks in the front and in both flanks by the Bhamani Sultans and the Rajas of Orissa. Narasimha's activities were all in the east and there is absolutely no mention of his name in connexion with the operations in the west—either round Goa or in the southern Mahratta country—up to the year 1482. More than this Narasimha was able to maintain his position all along while in all the campaigns in the west the advantage lay clearly with the enemies of Vijayanagar perhaps because of inefficiency and mismanagement at head-quarters as is but too evident in the affairs of Belgaum.

During the period 1450 to 1482 Vijayanagar was subjected to recurring attacks of powerful enemies from without, disputed successions and division of authority within showing the empire, on the verge of dismemberment. It was in this state of affairs that Narasimha's usurpation took place.

THE SALUVAS

Mr. Krishna Sastri writes, 'Neither the Telugu poems, nor epigraphical records tell us who the Sāluvas were from whom Narasinga and his ancestors traced their descent, what relation if any, existed between them and the Kings of the First Dynasty of Sangama, and what again was the connexion between the usurper Narasinga and his generals Īśvara and Narasimha (Narasimha Nāyaka), who, though calling themselves members of a branch of the Yadava dynasty which ruled over the Tuḷuva country (Tuḷuvēndra) often identified themselves with the Sāluvas by adopting the very same family titles'.

SĀLUVĀBHYUDAYAM

The Sanskrit Kāvya 'Sāluvābhyudayam', composed specifically to celebrate the deeds of Narasimha by a contemporary poet who calls himself Rājānātha Dindīma, throws some light upon this obscurity. According to this work the name Sāluva was acquired as a result of the bravery exhibited by one of the rulers of this family, Sāluva Mangi, a hawk among men, to distinguish him from a brother of the same name. This work gives the usual genealogy of a pauranic character tracing the descent of the family from the moon to Puru who exchanged his youth for the old age of his father. Then it refers to some rulers of whom so far nothing more is known, to one of whom, or to whose father, are given the titles, Chālukyanārāyaṇa Mōhana Murāri, Mēdinimīsaragaṇḍa because of their having been beloved rulers of the earth. Their names are Śaṇūramalla, Śighānamalla and Kavāri Rāya. A stanza (*śloka*) following explains the peculiar title Pan-chaghaṇṭanināda, much affected by the family as having been acquired by

the exhibition, in unparalleled measure, of the five qualities of truthfulness, bountifulness, courage, learning and valour.¹ In this family was born Guṇḍa 'who killed in battle the Sultan who had got ready for the conquest of the world'. He had his residence in Kalyānapura and had for his queen Kāmalādēvi. This is the first historical man in the family, and his position at Kalyāṇi and the achievement against the Sultan noted above raised him to prominence. The Sultan referred to was probably Sultan Alau-d-din I of the Bhamani kingdom whose early wars were among the fortified cities of the Telingana frontier among which figures prominently Kalyāṇi, the ancient capital of the Chalukyas. The connexion with the Yadava is no more than the usual association of the name with the southern branches of 'the line of the moon.'

Then come his six sons that are known from other sources among whom the most distinguished was the one known Śaḷuva Mangi. He went, with the permission of his brothers, southwards to make new conquests, although the south had already been conquered. He succeeded in killing the Sultan of the south. Finding that the Chola, Pandya and Kerala rulers had gone away in fear, he overcame Samubuvārāya and established him in his kingdom thus earning for him and his descendants the title 'Chamburāya Sthāpanāchāryaḥ'. He conquered some important city in Guzerat and earned the title Gurjariyattavibhāḍa. Having overcome every one he attacked as a falcon does the other birds, he and his descendants adopted the title Śaḷuvēndra. Having conquered all his enemies from Lanka to Mēru (Himalayas) he went to Śrīrangam and re-established God Ranganātha as before in the holy place and made large benefactions.

Alankamāmēru ripūn aśēśān
 Āśōsayat Śaḷuva Mangi dēvaḥ
 Śadangavāṇimayatungaśrṅga
 Śrī Rāgamōṅkāramayaḡatōbhūt.

This work while making the statement that he made to the God a donation of one thousand *sālagramas*, does not mention the gift of 60,000 Maḍas (half-pagodas of gold) that the Jamini Bhāratamu, mentions.

Among his sons, mention is made in this work of only one, Gauta to whom was born, like Abhimanyu to Arjuna, Guṇḍa.

This is Guṇḍa III of the genealogical table appended. To this Guṇḍa and his wife Mallāmbika was born as a result of the devotion of the pair to God Nṛsimha at Ahōbālam, Narasimha who became known afterwards Śaḷuva Narasimha. Gauta having retired into the forests to spend the evening of his life in contemplation upon the divine, Narasimha ascended the throne of his fathers, meaning no more than that he succeeded his father as

¹ Cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vii, p. 81, ll. 28-32.

Governor at Chandragiri. He is persuaded to give up sorrowing for his parents' retirement from life, but to carry on with the accustomed vigour of his ancestors the work of administration during youth and manhood to retire when old age came on. Accepting this counsel of wisdom he sets out on a conquering expedition to get the world rid of his natural enemies, the avātars of the asuras, as he himself was an avatār of Viṣṇu.

He is urged on to take up this work at once as his enemies were likely to be careless considering his youth and the consequent want of hold upon the loyalty of his generals and the army. He is here shown to us in Chandragiri in contrast to Viṣṇu in Tirupati.¹

¹ Tadiha sakalarakṣha sāvadānō
Viharati sārṅgadarōhi Vēṇkaṭadrau
Savidha bhuvi tadā hitāvanāyām
Nṛipavaras Chandragirau ni

His first expedition was against the ruler of Orissa whose territory he invaded. There is, of course, the usual Homeric battle, the advantage ultimately resting with Narasimha. The Orissa king is compelled to retire within the walls of his city which is laid siege to, in consequence.

Hatvāsiṣṭhaischa gajairagātpuram
Kalingrājō Yudhikandithādharah
Sa śaila durgam tapanādhvarōh (dha) krit
Viśāla sālām bahuyantra sādānam.

A breach was made and the fortress surrendered. After dictating terms of peace Narasimha returned obviously to Chandragiri.

He then started on a progress through his dominions. Leaving Chandragiri by way of Kālahasti, Narasimha moved towards the south. Sighting Tiruvaṇṇāmalai from a distance, he passed into the Chola country whose king had run away anticipating Narasimha, by the sound of his war-drum. Narasimha passed along by way of Tiruvaḍamarudūr to Kumbhakonam. He took the road on the northern bank of the Kavery and went to Srīrangam and Jambukēśvaram. Then he marched on to Madura wherefrom he proceeded to Ramēśvaram whence he returned to his capital again. Throughout this royal progress every ruler submitted and paid tribute, even the Ceylon King sending a respectful embassy. While he was back again at his capital at Chandragiri, Narasimha invaded Nāgamandala on the advice of Kuṭavāchalēndrataṭavāsi [he or (they), that reside at the foot of the Western Ghats?] He left a garrison there and returned at leisure with the desire to conquer Prithugiri (Big mountain, probably the Himalayas). It was then that he was attacked by the Muhammdan army. He won a complete victory against them and showed to the world that he was indeed the

¹ (Sāḷuvābhyudaym, Canto III, pp. 4142).

Dharaṇivarāha (the primeval boar, that reclaimed the earth from below the waters). Passing through Daśārṇa, he reached the Himalayas. He leaves his boar emblem (lāchana) on the face of the Himalayas, and returns by way of Kāśī (Benares) where he was anointed emperor.

HISTORICAL MATERIAL GLEANED FROM THE KĀVYA (EPIC)

The rest of the work being occupied with the ordinary epic embellishments need not detain us longer. Apart from the epic treatment, the historical facts that stand out are these :—that Narasimha had his head-quarters at Chandragiri with the Government of the province around it in all likelihood Chandragirirājya was his ancestral government ; that his first great war was against the Kalinga King ; that he could make a peaceful claim to authority over all the south up to Ramēśvaram, and come in touch even with Ceylon (this has already been accomplished under Dēva Rāya II) and that his last war was against the Muhammadans. Unless Kuṭavāchala should be interpreted Western Ghats and Nāgamandala, Nagarakhaṇḍa or Kanara, there is no mention of any western portion of Vijayanagar, nor is there the least indication of his having had anything to do with Vijayanagar. Narasimha was solely the successor of Kumāra Kampana of Muḷuvāyi Mahārājya or of Lakkanna, ' Lord of the Southern Ocean ' under Dēva Rāya II.

NARASIMHA'S MOVE NORTHWARDS

It then appears clear that Narasimha from his ancestral capital at Chandragiri ruled over the southern provinces of Vijayanagar and kept them well in hand. When Kapilēśvara Gajapati moved southwards upon the coast part of Telingana immediately after the death of Dēva Rāya II, Narasimha had to move north to keep this rising power in check. Kapilēśvara's invasion of Vijayanagar was perhaps a diversion to draw Narasimha out of the way—Having beaten back Kapilēśvara he returned to the south made a progress through his dominions to see that all was right and went up to the Telingana frontier at the time when Kapilēśvara's vaunted invasion of Kanchi was undertaken sometime after 1457, the year of death of Sultan Alau-d-din II. It is this invasion that is referred in the records at Jambai near Tiruvannamalai and in Tirukkōilūr as the Oḍḍiyan-kalāpa about ten years previous to the date of the records.¹ This was the occasion that called for the presence of Mallikārjuna and his minister Timma at Penugonḍa ' on business connected with Narasinga's kingdom ',² a necessary precaution as a later Bhamani diversion along this line makes it apparent. His activity on this frontier

¹ Madras Epigraphist's Report, 1907, Section 56, p. 84.

² Md. 12 and 59 already referred to.

proved so far successful that he was able not only to keep back the enemy of Kalinga who had taken possession of Telingana coast up to the Krishna, but even gain some advantages against the Muhammadans of Telingana.

The death of Kapilēśvara in 1470 gave a few years respite on this frontier, and when again the Bhamani Sultans began to be active elsewhere, that is, in the south and south-west of their territory Purushōttama Gajapati had settled matters to his satisfaction at home and was in readiness not only to imitate his father's example but improve upon it. Narasimha had to be alert on his side. In 1475-6 we find him strongly posted in Rajamandri as against the Bhamani Sultan, when he invaded Rajamandri in consequence of an invasion of the Telingana coast by the king of Orissa. In spite of the much vaunted boast of the Burhan-i-Máasir Narasimha was able to hold his own both against the Gajapati and the Bhamani kings, while matters go very much against Vijayanagar, probably because, as was indicated, Virūpāksha had succeeded and began to mismanage at Vijayanagar to the disgust of the greater viceroys and governors, such as Narasimha himself. Narasimha's hold upon the Telingana frontier was still very firm. Konḍaviḍ revolted against the Muhammadans in 1480. Sultan Muhammad Shah II (1463 to 1482) went to Konḍaviḍ, and having suppressed the rebellion there, broke through the middle of the Vijayanagar frontier to the fort of Mālūr and then he conducted in person a raid upon Kanchi. The successful occupation of Mālūr and the raid upon Kanchi indicate clearly the incapacity that had taken hold of the head-quarters administration at Vijayanagar on the one hand, and the success with which Narasimha held his ground in the east on the other. Five or six years from this date the usurpation of Narasimha takes place as related by Nuniz :—

NUNIZ' STORY

'One of his captains who was called Narsymgua, who was in some manner akin to him, seeing his mode of life, and knowing how ill it was for the kingdom that he should live and reign, though all was not yet lost, determined to attack him and seize on his lands; which scheme he at once put into force.

He wrote, therefore, and addressed the captains and chiefs of the kingdom, saying how bad it was for them not to have a king over them who could govern properly, and how it would be no wonder, seeing the manner of his life, if the king soon lost by his bad Government even more than his father had done.

He made great presents to all of them so as to gain their goodwill, and when he had thus attached many people to himself he made ready to attack Bisanga where the king dwelt. When the king was told of the uprising of this captain Narsymgua, how he was approaching and seizing his lands and

how many people were joining him, he seemed unmindful of the loss he had suffered, he gave no heed to it nor made ready, but, instead, he only ill-treated him who had brought the news. So that a captain of the army of this Narsyngua arrived at the gates of Bisanga, and there was not a single man defending his place: and when the king was told of his arrival he only said that it could not be. Then the captain entered the city, and the king only said that it could not be. Then he even entered his palace and came as far as the doors of his chamber, slaying some of the women. At last the king believed, and seeing now how great was the danger, he resolved to flee by the gates on the other side; and so he left his city and palaces and fled.

When it was known by the captain that the king had fled he did not trouble to go after him, but took possession of the city and of the treasures which he found there; and he sent to acquaint his lord, Narsyngua. And after that Narsyngua was raised to be king. And as he had much power and was beloved by the people, thenceforward this kingdom of Bisanga was called the kingdom of Narsyngua.

THE ORIGIN AND POSITION OF THE SĀLUVAS

It ought to be clear by now who the Sāluvas were from the account given of them in the Sāluvabhyudayam. They were a family of chieftains dispossessed of their ancestral territory by the rising power of the Bhamanis. They threw in their lot under Guṇḍa I and his son Sāluva Mangi with the five brothers who founded the Empire of Vijayanagar and co-operated heartily with them and their sons in expelling the Muhammadans from the south. They seem to have had their head-quarters at Chandragiri and appear to have been Vaiṣṇavas. The family must have been of sufficient distinction to become allied with the royal family in the person of Sāluva Tippa, an uncle of the usurper Narasimha. This Tippa had married the elder sister of Dēva Rāya II. and his son Gopa was Governor of Tekal while his father's Government was a little further south. This Gopa's sons Tirumalairāya and Tippa were other distinguished members of the family. It is noteworthy that all these are found in the middle region where Sāluva Mangi must have carved out a principality for himself.

Rai Sahib Krishna Sastri has with commendable industry gathered all the Sāluva names together on page 167 of the A.S.R. for 1908-09. It is clear from this list and other known instances that all those that assumed Sāluva birudas were not necessarily related, as various subordinate princes assumed not only well known birudas of a general character but even specific names of their sovereigns. Loyal governors and puissant generals of these Sāluvas seem to have assumed Sāluva birudas—as the particular instance of Śambavarāya shows—

There is mention of a minister and general of Harihara II whose name is Gunḍa. He is credited with having conquered all the kingdoms, the conventional fifty-six, and the following specific achievements are also ascribed to him. 'Having conquered the Keralas, Taulavas, Andhras and Kūṭakas he seized their wealth and gave it to his king. Dragging the elephant-like Saipa, Patheya and other proud Turushkas along by their hair in battle, he confined them in his stables, like monkeys; and besides them seized by the throat the two great tigers known as Jyeshṭha and Kanishṭha'. He is further said to have planted pillars of victory in all the countries and by order also of Harihara Mahārāya restored the grants which Vishṇuvardhana Bīṭṭi Dēva Rāya, ruler of the Hoysāṇa country, had made for the God Channakṣavanātha, his family god, and which had by lapse of time been greatly reduced . . . and re-built with seven storeys the gopura over the doorway, which Ganga Salar, the Turuka of Kulburga, had come and burnt. It is likely that this Gunḍa was either the first or the second of the name in the Sāluva family, rather the first than the second as he is credited with no achievement of any kind in any of the various records available, but it is impossible to be certain about it in the absence of any definite indication of the connexion in the record in question. There is a striking similarity between this inscription and the Sāluvābhyudayaṃ in regard to the actual deeds of valour.

INSCRIPTIONS CONFIRM THESE CONCLUSIONS

If now we turn our attention to the inscriptions we find, from their distribution and contents, they confirm the conclusions that have been drawn from the other available sources. Sāluva Narasimha comes prominently to notice pretty early in the reign of Mallikārjuna, though it would be hazardous to assert that he played any part in repelling the Kalinga-Bhamani invasion of Vijayanagar. He seems to have been helped almost from the beginning of his career by Timma, the Tuḷuva chieftain, but very much more by his son Īśvara and his son Narasa who ultimately became his trusted chief of the staff, Civil and Military. The achievements ascribed to Īśvara in the Varāhapurāṇam and the Pārijāthāpaharanam are deeds of valour that he did for his master and indicate where exactly Sāluva Narasimha had to do the most fighting. Contemporary inscriptions only echo what these Telugu works have to say. In the words of Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, 'According to the Varāhapurāṇam Narasimharāya's first general Īśvara of the Tuḷuva family conquered the forts (1) Udyādri (Udayagiri in Nellore), (2) Huttari (probably Puttūr in Kārvēṇinagar), (3) Gandigōṭa, (4) Penugonḍa, (5) Beggalur (the reading of the manuscript is Bengulūru, i.e. Bangalore), (6) Kovala Nallūru, (7) Kundāni (in the Salem District, formerly capital of the Hoysāla Vira Rāmanātha), (8) Goḍuguchinta, (9) Bāgūru, (10) Naragonḍa (probably Naragallu in Chittur Taluq), (11) Āmūru (Giḍ Āmūru or Āmūrdurga) (in Guḍiyāttam Taluq) and (12) Śrīrangapaṭṭāṇa, and "destroyed the cavalry of the Yavanas of Beḍendakōṭa at Gandikōṭa." The Yavanas referred to here are the Bhamani kings who transferred their capital from Kulburga to Bider in June A.D. 1423, during the reign of Ahmed Shah. Referring to the same event, the author of the Telugu poem Pārijāthāpaharanam says that Īśvara "gave rise to thousands of rivers of blood by killing the horses of the Yavanas of

Badandakōṭa ", but he transfers the same to Kandukūru. The Muhammadan historians do not of course refer to this event.'

The edition of the *Varāhapurānamu* brought out by Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu gives the reading Kandukūru and the manuscript copies¹ in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library confirm this reading. Kandukūru perhaps is the more likely place in this connexion. The places mentioned are distributed all over what became later the Karnatic Payeen Ghat, the southern portion of Mysore and the coast districts of Nellore, and perhaps even Krishna, in all of which fighting had to be done to beat off the Muhammadans. This could have been only in the sixties and seventies of the fifteenth century, consequent upon the invasion of Kapilēśvara about A.D. 1461-2. It is this series of wars that takes Narasimha gradually northwards to the frontiers of the Bhamani kingdom and Telingana where we find him according to Ferishta in A.D. 1477. Kapilēśvara's death before A.D. 1470 on the one side, and the change of rulers on the throne of Vijayanagar, left him no alternative in the one case, and gave him the opportunity for making himself independent in the other. Up to A.D. 1467 grants in which his name occupies a prominent place are found only in North Arcot and Kolar districts. In the seventies they extend from Tirukōilūr to Nāgamangala. A grant dated A.D. 1481 at Khankanhalli refers to 'our Channapatna province'. By about this time Sālūva Narasimha had become by far the most powerful and effective ruler of all the provinces of Vijayanagar below the Ghats, and the plain country of Mysore. The Malnad districts of Mysore and the West Coast comprising the Male Rājya and the Tulu Rājya, with the country round Vijayanagar were the only provinces that were under the effective control of the head-quarters, the southern Mahratta country fast slipping out of the hands of the rulers of Vijayanagar since the fall of Goa and Belgaum. In other words it was only the territories under the control of Narasimha that were able to hold their own as against the enemies of Vijayanagar, the other portions fast passing into the hands of the Muhammadans or on the high road to disintegration.

Further the earlier inscriptions relating to this period acknowledge the suzerainty of Mallikārjuna. This formality begins to drop out in the sixties, and Virūpāksha's name appears but sparingly. Inscriptions after A. D. 1471 give him the full birudas. The combined result of these converging lines of evidence is that Sālūva Narasimha began as the Governor of Chandragiri his ancestral estate. The neighbouring governments having been in the hands of members of his own family he peacefully developed his resources to become a pillar of the empire when the empire was hard pressed by enemies on its most

¹ No. 804 of the revised Triennial Catalogue of manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library.

vulnerable frontier. This gave him the chance of advancing northwards up to the very frontiers of the Bhamani kingdom. When he saw the Imperial family losing its hold upon the provinces, he was able to hold the provinces well together after the disintegrating eruption of Kapilēśvara Gajapati, the effect of which had been felt even as far south as Tirukōilūr in the South Arcot District. When a change of rulers did take place and the throne happened to be occupied by an unworthy man like Virūpāksha whose folly cost the Empire Goa, and its possessions in the north-west, Narasimha could see clearly that the empire built up at such great cost of blood and brains was going to ruin. He let matters drift as he was not quite sure of the temper of the various viceroys and governors of first rank. He does not appear to have cherished ambitions of a personal kind, as it would have been easy for him to have overthrown the empire any time after A.D. 1470. As Nuniz has it, he gave the best chance for the royal family on the throne to rehabilitate itself, and when he found there was no chance in that direction he had no alternative left but to take upon himself the responsibility of administering the empire. For at the time, the empire wanted a man of ability and initiative to keep it intact both from the disruptive tendencies within and the disintegrating shocks from the enemy without. It is under a supreme imperial necessity such as this that he appears, from all the evidence available to us, to have usurped the empire.

THE DATE OF THE FIRST USURPATION

The last record of Virūpāksha available to us is one dated Friday, July 29, 1485.¹ The first in which Śāluva Narasimha appears with the Imperial titles Rājādhirāja, Rāja Paramēśvara, etc.,² is dated November 1, 1486. Between these dates, the actual usurpation must have taken place, there having been two sons of Mallikārjuna alive at the time not counting the prince that was set aside, a son of Virūpāksha, Mallikārjuna's brother. The palace revolution described in Nuniz probably took place just a little before, and perhaps hastened the change of dynasty.

THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION

This brings us to the next problem of the period, namely, the order and rates of the changes of rulers on the throne during the period A.D. 1485 to 1509. When Sewell wrote his work on Vijayanagar fifteen years ago it was not known that there was a double usurpation and that there were actually four rulers in succession who wielded the supreme power during this short period. The credit of the discovery of the second usurper actually belongs to the Mysore Archæologist Mr. R. Narasimbachar, and it is now generally taken

¹ Mulbagal, 104.

² Tumkur, 54.

that there ruled in succession Śāḷuva Narasimha, the first usurper, his son the second Narasimha, then the second usurper Narasa and his son Vira Narasimha who was succeeded by his half-brother Krishna Dēva Rāya. The matter is already obscure for lack of records bearing clearly upon a matter like this and the absence of mention of these except very casually and carelessly in Muhammadan histories, by the similarity of name, all of them are called Narasimha, and the still greater similarity of titles and birudas they assumed. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks there are some distinguishing marks to guide us through the tangle of names and titles in the contemporary grants which are, about ninety of them, tabulated in an appendix. The first two belonged to the family of the Śāḷuvas who began as Governors of Chandragiri and advanced in power gradually to become Emperors. The characteristic Śāḷuva titles and birudas, either all of them or some at least, always precede their names. These titles were unfortunately assumed, either by way of compliment to the Śāḷuvas by their royal subordinates, or were conferred upon them as a matter of honour by the ruling Śāḷuva for the time being. The first usurper is known in these records as Śāḷuva Narasimha with one or more of the Śāḷuva titles which are many: Mādinīmisaragaṇḍa, Kaṭṭāri Śāḷuva, etc. The second of the four usually is Immaḍi Narasimha with these titles, and is often described as the son of Śāḷuva Narasimha. The records of Śāḷuva Narasimha as Emperor are not many nor widespread, but those of his son are found all over the empire in large numbers. He is also sometimes called Tanmarāya (the Tama Rao of Nuniz) written in Tamil, Tanmarāya the equivalent of Dharmarāya and occasionally we find the Sanskrit form as well.

The one that succeeded him on the throne is taken to be Narasa or Narasa Nāyaka of the Tuluva family and son of Īśvara Nāyaka. He is not ordinarily mentioned as Narasimha though in this style he is occasionally described. His son was known Narasimha with a combination of all the titles of his predecessors, the Śāḷuvas and Kaṇṇaṭas, but also even some, of the Hoysalas. The fashion was probably set by his predecessor on the throne Śāḷuva Narasimha II. While the above is the usual order of the succession no agreement has been arrived at in regard to the date of accession of each. Mr. Sewell attempts a final settlement of this matter by a contribution he made in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July, 1915, and sums up his thesis in the following words:—‘Differing from some writers on the subject, I place the first usurpation by Narasimha as on some day between August 29, 1485, and November 1, A.D. 1486; his death and the accession of Immaḍi Narasimha as on some day prior to January 27, A.D. 1493; the second usurpation by Narasa Nāyaka, his death, and the accession of his son Vira Narasimha as during the interval between February 28 and July 16, (or August 14) of A.D. 1505. Vira Narasimha’s death and the accession of

Krishna Dēva Rāya are known to have taken place on some day earlier than October 14 or November 13, A.D. 1509.'

NARASA NAYAKA

In investigating the problem of chronology suggested in this extract from Mr. Sewell's article, it is necessary to consider the position of another chief who played a very important part in the changes that passed the empire on to Krishna Dēva Rāya ultimately. This was Narasa, generally regarded as the second usurper. We first find mention of his name in a record of A.D. 1482-3, when in all probability he came to occupy the position of foremost of Sāluva Narasimha's servants although that honour continues to be given to one Nāgama Nāyaka in A.D. 1484. His grandfather Timma is referred to only in general terms, while his father Īśvara bore a valiant part in all the fighting that his master has had to do in the course of his ascent to power, as is but too clear in the extracts quoted above from the introduction to the Dēvulupalle plates of Immaḍi Narasimha edited by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, and in the Telugu poems Varāhapurāṇamu and the later Pārijāthā-paharaṇam. It is thus clear that the Tuluva Chief Īśvara rendered Yeomen's service to Sāluva Narasimha before he became Emperor. It was the turn of his son Narasa already distinguished in war at the camp of his father and the father's master, to become the pillar of the empire under Sāluva Narasimha the Emperor. What follows from Nuniz will explain the relative positions of Narasimha and Narasa clearly.

'When it was known to the Captain that the king had fled he did not trouble to go after him, but took possession of the city and of the treasures which he found there; and he sent to acquaint his lord Narasyingua. And after that Narasyingua was raised to be king. And as he had much power and was beloved by the people, thenceforward his kingdom of Bisnaga, was called the kingdom of Narasyingua.

After he was raised to be king and was obeyed he came to Bisnaga, where he did many acts of justice; and he took the territories from whomsoever had, contrary to right, taken them from the king. This king reigned forty-four years, and at his death left all the kingdom in peace, and he gained all the lands which the kings his predecessors had lost. He caused horses to be brought from Oromuz and Adeem into his kingdom and thereby gave great profit to the merchants paying them for the horses just as they asked. He took them dead or alive at three for a thousand pardaos, and of those that died at sea they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive.

At the death of the king there remained three fortresses which had revolted from his rule, and which he was never able to take, which were

these—Rachol and Odegary and Conadolgi which have large and rich territories and are the principal forts in the kingdom.

THE CHARACTER OF NARASIMHA'S USURPATION

This extract makes it clear that Narasimha's purpose in usurping the throne was not personal aggrandizement but the perpetuation of the empire built at such great pains by his predecessors in the second and remoter generations. Further than this it shows unmistakably that he was able to rehabilitate the empire already considerably dismembered except for the three fortresses of vital strength for the maintenance of that empire. When death came to him he had not quite fully discharged the duties that he took upon himself by the assumption of imperial power, but made the next best arrangement, which again shows he had a more patriotic programme than the selfish greed of the ordinary usurper. In the words of Nuniz again 'At his death he left two sons, and the Governor of the kingdom was Narasenaque who was father of the king that afterwards was king of Bisnaga; and this king (Narasymgua), before he died, sent to call Narasenaque his minister, and held converse with him, telling him that at his death he would by testament leave him to govern the kingdom until the princes should be of an age to rule; also he said that all the royal treasures were his alone, and he reminded him that he won this kingdom of Narasymgua at the point of the sword; adding that now there remained only three fortresses to be taken, but that for him the time for their capture was passed; and the king begged him to keep guard over the kingdom and to deliver it up to the Princes, to whichever of them should prove himself the most fitted for it. And after the King's death this Narasenaque remained as Governor, and soon raised up the Prince to be King, retaining in his own hands the treasures and revenues and the government of the country.' This testament of Sālūva Narasinga reveals the true inwardness of the usurpation that took place in A.D. 1485-6. Narasinga's function, as he understood it, was to recover the lost portions of the empire of Vijayanagar and restore it to its past greatness and unity. He fell short of achieving this ambition as he was not able to capture during his own life-time the three fortresses of Udayagiri, Kondavid and Raichore. He quite realized that the empire required a strong ruler and nominated his chief General Narasa as his actual successor and *de facto* ruler, and left the choice of an Emperor from out of his two sons to him.

NARASA, SUCCESSOR OF NARASIMHA IN ALL BUT NAME

It is thus clear that the real power passed from Sālūva Narasimha to Tuḷuva Narasa but there was to be a titular Emperor and this comparatively unimportant element complicates the problem which otherwise

would have been far simpler, and easier of solution. It has already been pointed out that Sālūva Narasinga's usurpation took place some time between Friday, July 29, 1485, and November 1, 1486, on which date a record of his gives him the paramount titles of sovereignty. He ruled as Emperor for a period of about seven years. 'Nuniz' term of forty-four years for his reign seems to include in it the whole term of his career, first as ruler of Chandragiri and then the Emperor of Vijayanagar itself, that is, practically from the date that Mallikārjuna ascended the throne of Vijayanagar. The first available records of Immadi Narasinga Rāya with the titles of paramount sovereignty happen to be dated January 27, A.D. 1493, and give him the style of designation 'Śrīman Mahāmandalēśvara, Paschimasamudrādhipati Kaṭṭāri Sālūva Yimmaḍi Narasinga Rāyaru.' He must have come to the throne sometime before this date.

BHAMANI HISTORY OF THE PERIOD

We must now turn our attention to the affairs of the Bhamani kingdom before making an extract from Ferishta which confirms this dating according to the inscriptions. Sultan Mahamud Shah II. returned from the great raid upon Kānchi and his return was the signal for the mischief to get afoot against the Khwaja Jehan Muhammad Gawan against whom suspicions had been aroused in the mind of the Sultan during his campaigning on the Telingana coast, as the outcome of the jealousy and prejudice against the minister. Muhammad Gawan was assassinated in A.D. 1481 and the Sultan himself died the next year leaving the throne to his young son who ascended the throne as Sultan Mahmud Shah.

At this time the party of the Turks had the ascendancy in the State as against the other two parties, the Dekhanis and the Habshis (Abyssinians). The Dekhanis at the head of whom stood Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, a Brāhman convert from Telingana, devised a plot and got rid of the most influential among the Turks by a general massacre of the Turki noblemen and officials in the capital. Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri then became Malik Naib (the Prime Minister). There was naturally a rebellion of the Turki governors in distant provinces, who attacked the capital at the head of their armies. The capital and the king were saved by the timely arrival of Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri the son of the Malik Naib. It was now the turn of the Habshis at court to gain the ear of the Sultan and the Dekhani Malik Naib felt himself in danger and fled for safety to the capital from Warangal where the king was at the time in the course of an invasion. This Malik Naib was killed by Pasand Khan with the sanction of the king. The Habshis got all the positions of power and influence in their hands and ruled in utter disregard of the Sultan who intrigued with the Turks in consequence. When the

Habshis besieged the Sultan in the fortress, he was just able to save himself by the strenuous exertions of a handful of Turks. It was at this time that Kasim Barid Turk set up the standard of revolt, and having overcome Dilarwar Khan Habshi who was sent against him, threatened the capital itself. His rebellion was the signal for other chiefs to rebel likewise. The Sultan finding it impossible to suppress the rebel Turks entered into a treaty with Kasim Birid giving him the rank of Mir-i-Jumla and making him the *de facto* ruler of the Dekhan. Various governors of provinces refused to recognize this arrangement with the prominent exception of Ahmad Bahri Nizam-ul-Mulk. The king could not dismiss Kasim Barid as the allied rebels demanded and war had to be continued. Kasim Barid was defeated and put to flight and the rebel chiefs and allies returned each to his head-quarters. From this time is dated the founding of the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bider and the overthrow of the Bhamani kingdom as such, and the date of this according to Ferishta would be previous to A.D. 1489, the Burhan-i-Máasir not having a regular date-scheme for this period.

The remaining period of Mahmud Shah Bhamani's reign which ended in A.D. 1518 is occupied with the continual struggles of the king to recover lost power. This took the form of his intriguing with the five chieftains in turn and trying various combinations. All this ended only in making the four States other than Bider to consolidate their power and become independent of head-quarters even in respect of form. Vijayanagar was left all through this struggle for power and possession of the king, to deal with Bijapur separately and this course was made the easier by the jealousies of the three neighbouring states of Golkonda, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar.

FERISHTA

Turning to Ferishta we have it that Yusuf Adil Shah and Mallik Ahmad Bary (Bahri) 'caused the Khootba to be read in their name in A.D. 1489 (A.H. 895)'. 'He wrested many forts from the governors of Mahmud Shah, and subdued all the country from the river Bheema to Bijapur. 'Kaseem Bareed Toork (the *de facto* ruler under the Sultan) who had himself entertained hopes of founding a kingdom at Bijapur, wrote to the Ray of Beejanagar that Mahmud Shah was willing to cede to him the forts of Moodkal and Rachore if he would wrest them from Yusuf Adil Khan, at the same time letters were addressed to Bahadur Geelany, who possessed Goa and Dureabar (the tract, which in the language of Dekhan is called Concan) inviting him to invade the country of Yusuf Adil Khan.

Timraj, the general of the Ray of Beejanagar, having crossed the river Toongabadra, laid waste the country as far as Mudkul and Rachore, and Bahadur Geelany, reduced the fortress of Jumkindy. Yoosoof Adil Khan

was too weak to repel these attacks by force. He accordingly made peace with Timraj, and expelled Bahadur Geelany from his dominions; but without attempting to recover Jumkindy, led his army, composed of eight thousand foreigners towards the capital against Kaseem Bareed'.

According to one account that Ferishta records the Adil Shah was defeated, had to make peace with his enemies and retire to Bijapur. It was then, 'On learning that dissensions prevailed in Beejanaggar, he marched to retake Rachore. On reaching the banks of the Krishna, Adil Shah fell ill of fever brought on by exertion in hunting, and was confined to bed for two months. 'In this interval Timraj, the minister having composed his disputes with the young Ray of Beejanaggar, advanced at the head of an army to Rachore, which struck terror into that of Yusuf Adil Khan for whose recovery fervent prayers were offered up by his subjects'.

'Meanwhile intelligence was received that Timraj having crossed the Toongabadra, was advancing to Beejapur. Yusuf Adil Khan numbered his troops and found them to consist of eight thousand Doaspa¹ horse and two hundred elephants of all sizes'. Timraj won in the battle which was fought on a Saturday, in April 1493, but his army engaged in plunder was put to flight by a charge of Adil Khan's forces which he rallied and brought into action on hearing that the Vijayangar forces were engaged in plundering the camp'. Timraj and the young Ray fled to Beejanaggar. The latter died on the road of wounds received in the action and Timraj seized the Government of the country; but some of the principal nobility opposing his usurpation, dissensions broke out, which gave Yusuf Adil Khan a respite from war in that quarter'.

'Dustoor Khan relates, that the victory was gained by the following strategem. Yusuf Adil Khan, after the disorder of his troops, sent a messenger to Timraj entreating peace and offering to acknowledge allegiance to the Ray for the country he held; upon which the minister and the Ray came, attended by three or four hundred followers and their principal nobility, to a conference in the field, when Yusuf Adil Khan fell upon them by surprise with his whole army and routed them, killing seventy persons of rank. Their troops alarmed at the death of their chiefs, fled and left the camp to be plundered by the victors'. Yusuf Khan then reduced Mudkul and Rachore, which added largely to his power and wealth.

It can be seen from the extracts above that all these transactions took place between the years 1489 and 1493. In spite of the blundering of Ferishta in regard to the name Timraj, it was the minister that figured in the earlier war consequent upon Kasim Barid's move against Adil Shah. In the battle itself it was the young king that figures with the minister who was

¹ Double-horsed cavalry.

able to advance after settling some dissensions that arose at head-quarters consequent on a new succession obviously. It must be noted that the young king, the misunderstanding between whom and the minister had to be composed before the general could advance, died of the wounds he received in battle in April, 1493.

NUNIZ

Let us now turn to Nuniz.

'At that time a captain who wished him ill, determined to kill the prince, with a view afterwards to say that Narasenaque had bidden him commit the murder, he being the minister to whom the government of the kingdom had been entrusted, and he thought that for this act of treason Narasenaque would be put to death. And he soon so arranged it that the prince was killed one night by one of his pages who had been bribed for that purpose, and who slew the prince with a sword. As soon as Narasenaque heard that he was dead, and learned that he himself (was supposed to have) sent to kill him, he raised up another brother of the late king's to be king, not being able to further punish this captain, because he had many relations, until after he had raised this younger brother to be king, who was called Tamarao. He (Narasenaque) went out one day from the city of Bisnaga towards Nagumdym saying that he was going hunting, leaving all his household in the city. And after he had arrived at this city of Nagumdym he betook himself to another called Penagumdim, which is four and twenty leagues from that place, where he at once made ready large forces and many horses and elephants, and then sent to tell the King Tamarao of the cause of his going; relating to him the treason that that captain by name Timarasa had carried out slaying his brother the king, and by whose death he (the prince) had inherited the kingdom. He told him how that the kingdom had been entrusted to him by his father, as well as the care of himself and his brother, that as this man had killed his brother, so he would do to him in the same way, for he was a traitor; and he urged that for that reason it was necessary to punish him. But the king at that time was very fond of that captain, since by reason of him he had become king, and in place of punishing him he bestowed favour on him and took his part against the minister. And, seeing this, Narasenaque went against him with large forces, and besieged him, threatening him for four or five days, until the king, seeing his determination, commanded Timarasa to be put to death; after which he (the king) sent the (traitor's) head to be shown to the minister, who greatly rejoiced. Narasenaque sent away all the troops and entered the city, where he was very well received by all the people, by whom he was much loved as being a man of much justice.'

These two accounts differ in essential particulars to such an extent that preferring either to the other would be a matter of considerable difficulty,

According to Ferishta Timraj (which stands for Heemraj of Scott's translation and Narasa of the Inscriptions), had to act once at the instance of Kasim Barid and that must have been in behalf of Narasinga or Narasimha I, soon after A. D. 1489. The next time the Adil Shah marched against Vijayanagar having heard of dissensions in the city. The Adil Shah having fallen ill for two months, Timraj had time to compose the dissensions at head-quarters and march to meet the enemy. The battle was fought on a Saturday in April, A.D. 1493. The young king died of the wounds he received in the battle.

INSCRIPTIONS

Turning to the inscriptions we find that the first record of Narasimha II is dated A. D. 1493 (Śaka 1414, Kolar 34) and the earliest in all probability were those dated January 27, A. D. 1493 (Mudegere 54 and 56). In these and others up to one of date Wednesday September 25, A. D. 1493, Narasimha II. is referred to as ruling with various titles but without those distinctly characteristic of the ruling sovereign, namely, Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, etc. Records of December 18, A. D. 1493 (Doddaballāpūr 42 and 45) are the first in which these supreme titles appear before the name of Narasimha II, thereby indicating that he became the supreme ruler between September 25 and December 18 of A. D. 1493. These records seem to bear out Ferishta's account in all its details. Narasinga I. must have died either at the end of A. D. 1492 or the beginning of the following year, at any rate before January 27 of A. D. 1493. The general Narasa under the testament recorded by Nuniz, perhaps preferred Narasimha II. to his elder brother and nominated him. This would create an opposition and there would have been dissensions consequent upon this division among the powerful nobles and generals of Vijayanagar, the first prince himself actively declining to be set aside. Narasa composed the difficulties by accepting the elder brother for the time being, the younger having his own following in the provinces directly under Narasa. When the first prince died as a result of the wounds he received in the battle of April, 1493, Narasimha II. must have succeeded to the throne. Hence the assumption of full royal titles in the records of December of that year.

It is just possible that the opposing faction tried to foist the blame for the death of the first prince upon Narasa and even poisoned the mind of the young king against him. It may also be that Timmarasa, the Tymarasa of Nuniz, was the man primarily responsible for this nefarious act. Narasa Nāyaka sought his own safety in retiring to Penugonda, and then marched upon the capital not to permit of repetition of the evils of incompetent rule in Vijayanagar. Information of these complicated transactions must have reached Nuniz through informants not remarkable for accuracy in regard to details as has been only too evident in respect of his account so far. It is

quite possible that Ferishta lighted upon a correct record of these in the archives of Bijapur which must have had accurate information as the Adil Shah made the movements of his army depend upon information furnished by his intelligence department.

NARASIMHA II.

Narasimha II. came to the throne between the months of September and December, 1493, his elder brother having died in the course of the year not by assassination but as a result of wounds he received in battle. Whatever was the actual nature of this succession, the real power was actually in the hands of Narasa Nāyaka, according to the testament of Saḷuva Narasimha I. and the actual needs of the empire at the time. As Mr. Krishna Sastri says, 'In the records of Immadi Narasimha the place of honour is generally given to Narasaṇa-Nāyaka who is invariably referred to, either as a generalissimo in charge of the whole army, of the Vijayanagar kingdom or as an agent managing the State affairs for Immadi Narasimha from the capital Vijayanagara. Records of the latter are found distributed over the Cuddappah, Anantapur, South Canara, Trichinopoly and Madura districts of the Madras Presidency, and the Mysore State. Under orders of the 'Lord' Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, the province of Bārakūr was at the time governed by Sādharaṇade (va) Voḍeya, Nagira-Rājya which included within it Haiva and Konkana was in charge of the Mahamandaleśvara Sāḷuva Dēva Rāya Voḍeya who in Śaka 1422 made a grant, for his own merit, to the temple of Dhārēśvara in the Kumpta Taluka of the North Canara district, *and in Śaka 1424, made another gift to the same temple for the 'longevity, health, wealth, kingdom and victory'*, of Mēdini Misara Gaṇḍakaṭṭāri, Trinetra-Sāḷuva Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, son of Yīśarappa-Nāyaka (i. e. Īśvara). It is this particular statement in the particular record that has been laid hold of to warrant the inference that before Śaka 1424 or A.D. 1502 Narasaṇa Nāyaka superseded Immadi Narasimha on the throne. We have seen already that Mr. Sewell calls this inference into question from the chronology point of view. In the words of the epigraphist himself, "The fact that a local chief named Dēvarasa-Voḍeya, who had previously made a gift to the temple at Dhārēśvara in the Bombay Presidency for his own merit, supplemented it in A.D. 1501-2 by another endowment for the merit of Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, may be taken to show that the second usuapation (i. e. the usurpation by the Tuḷuvās) of the Vijayanagara sovereignty was accomplished in A.D. 1501-2 or immediately before that date."¹ This reasoning has nothing to support it. There are numbers of records in which various officers of Saḷuva Narasimha made grants for his merit and he himself returned the compliment to some, among whom was Narasa himself. Dēvarasa-Voḍeya making a grant for his merit

¹ Epigraphist's Report for 1905-6, p. 85, para. 58.

first and for the merit of Narasa a few years after, it may be on a particular occasion when he received signal honour or approbation, or when Narasa was on a victorious campaign; cannot be made to bear this weighty inference. The very records are against it. There is not a single record of Narasa giving him the titles of sovereignty, except the Śaṣuṣa titles which are ascribed to him and which he perhaps assumed as an honour to the ruling family or which were conferred upon him out of regard for the very loyal service he rendered to his master and his sons during a life-time. A glance down the list of inscriptions appended will show that such grants were made for the merit of Narasa Nāyaka while Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya was still ruling. In this connexion No. 445 of 1913 has been drawn into service to support this contention because of the expression 'in order that *svāmi* Narasa Nāyaka may be victorious'. *Svāmi* (Lord) does not imply necessarily ruler. Every one is *svāmi* to his servants. No. 357 of 1912 has been brought in also to prove that the second usurpation so called took place in A.D. 1501-2, on the strength of the expression "Svāmi Narasa Nāyaka went to Śivalōka (died)". There is nothing in it to indicate that this was the great general and what is worse for the case, there are grants of subsequent dates in which he is indicated as unmistakably alive. No. 395 of 1912 is a grant by an agent of Narasa Nāyaka. There is so far no definite piece of evidence that Narasa usurped the throne setting aside Immaḍi Narasimha who made the Dēvulapalle grant of A.D. 1504 and whose name is mentioned in various other grants up to, and even beyond A.D. 1505 in which year in all probability Narasa Nāyaka died, as Goribidanur 77 and No. 177 of 1913 would seem to indicate clearly. The first is a record of Vira Narasimha, son of Narasa, and the second records a gift by king Vira Narasimha for the merit of his father Narasa Nāyinigāru. That Narasa was ever the sovereign on the throne of Vijayanagar seems thus to rest upon no foundation of fact.

NARASA, *DE FACTO* RULER

He was, however, the *de facto* ruler from A.D. 1493 to 1505 and kept the Empire from breaking up by putting down internal rebellions on the one hand and keeping out the Adil Shah on the other. His actual achievements are described in the copper-plate grants of his sons in some detail and the following is from some of them.

'Damming up the Kavery in full flood, he crossed over and capturing his enemy alive, seized his kingdom and taking possession of ' Śrīrangapaṭṭana, erected there the pillar of his fame.'¹

¹ Kavērīm āsu badhva bahuja-jala-rayām tām vilanghyaiva Śatrum.
Jivagrāham grihitva samiti bhuja-balāt tam cha rājyam tadīyam
Kṛitva Śrīrangapūrvam tad api nija vaśe paṭṭanam yō babhāṣe.
Kīrti stambham nikhāya tri-bhuvana bhavana stūyamānāpadānah.'

(Gundlupet 30, Epigraphica Carnataka, vol. iv. Pt. II.)

'Having conquered Gajapati Rāya, he won by his valour the title Gajapati Rāyēbha-Gandabhērunda (a two-headed eagle to the elephant Gajapati Rāya). Having conquered the mighty fierce Turushka king in battle, he gained the title 'dushtā rāṇ mriga' Śārdūla (a tiger to the deer, wicked kings). Having defeated the Madhura king Mānabhūpa in battle, he forced the Pandya, Chola, Chera and other kings to pay tribute.'¹

MR. KRISHNA SASTRI'S FINDINGS

Having come so far we are face to face with the statement made by Mr. Krishna Sastri 'In the copper-plate grant from Dhārēśvara noted already, Śaṭva-Narasana (i.e. Narasa) Nāyaka, son of Yīśvarappa (Īśvara) Nāyaka, is referred to as still living in Śaka 1424, Durmati, the month Bhādrapada, whereas in a record from Bārakāru,² dated in the same Śaka year Durmati, but in the month Māgha, we are informed that Vīra Narasinga Rāya was ruling from the throne of Vijayanagara. Consequently, we have, perhaps, to infer that Narasa died in the latter part of Śaka 1424 and left his son Vīra-Narasimha to succeed to the throne.'³

CRITICISM OF THE FINDINGS

We have not in the Epigraphist's published list the detail here given from No. 152 of 1901, but we have no reason to call the Epigraphist's statement into question in regard to the fact. The inference, however, seems quite unwarranted. Nos. 57, 59, 60 and 61 of the appendix, all of them imply that Narasa Nāyaka was alive later than the date given above, and hence the Vīra-Narasinga Rāya said to have been ruling from the throne of Vijayanagara must be Immaḍi Narasimha who, about this period, got into a fancy for other titles than those that were his own. No. 63 of the appendix gives the Hoysala title Bhujabala to Śaṭva Narasimha I; No. 57 gives the titles specially applicable to Dēva Rāya II. to what appears to be Narasana, that is, the general Narasa; No. 68 calls Narasana chief among the officers of Vidhyānagara simhāsanārūḍa Bhujabalapratāpa Narasimha who was then on the throne of Vidhyānagara or Vijayanagar. This is of date March 10, 1506, according to Sewell.

¹ Jitva Gajapatim Rāyam birudam prāpa sāhasāt
Gajapatyākhyā Rāyēbha gāṇḍa bhērunda ityamum
Pratāpōgram Turushkēndram yuddē jitva parākramāt
Dushtā rāṇ mriga Śārdūla ityādi birudān agāt
Madhura vallabham Māna-bhūpam nirjitya samyugē.
Karāḍikṛitvān Pandya-Chola-Cherādi bhūpatim.

(Gōribidanūr 77, Epigraphia Carnataka, vol. x.)

² Epigraphist's Collection, No. 152 of 1901.

³ A.S.R., 1907-8, p. 171.

Narasa Nāyaka then did not die in A.D. 1502, nor was Immaḍi Narasimha set aside by him as far as the evidence available can take us. Narasa, the general-in-chief and regent died as such in 1505 as was already indicated and was succeeded in his position by his son who assumed the supreme titles in Maḷavalli 95 of date December 15, 1506, so that it is clear that for some time after the death of his father he went on in subordination, however nominal, to the titular monarch for the time being.

Immaḍi Narasimha's records are found as late as 1507 (75 and 76 of appendix) and then cease. It is only some of the copper-plate grants of Narasa's sons that credit him with having occupied the throne of Vijayanagar, but they do this honour even to his father Īśvara, who could not have had any occasion for doing so. Nuniz's story about the setting aside of Immaḍi Narasimha and his subsequent murder during the life-time of Narasa is not supported by any evidence from these records. His chronology need not, therefore, be attached the importance that it has been accorded. The probabilities are that Vīra Narasimha, son of Narasa set him aside completely and even got rid of him in the manner described by Nuniz and believed to be supported by the Muhammadan historians.

VIRA NARASIMHA, THE SECOND USURPER

Of Vīra Narasimha Rāya, Narasa's son and successor, Nuniz has :—' And this king left at his death five sons ; one was called Busbalrao, and another Crismarao, and another Tetarao, and another Ramyguṇa and another Ouamysyuaya.

And this Busbalrao inherited the kingdom at the death of his father Narasenaṇṇa and reigned six years, during which he was always at war, for as soon as his father was dead the whole land revolted under its captains ; who in a short time were destroyed by that king, and their lands taken and reduced under his rule. During these six years, the king spent, in restoring the country to its former condition, eight million gold *pardaos*. This king died of his sickness in the city of Bisnaga ; and Mr. Krishna Sastri says ' We have not on record many inscriptions of Vīra-Narasimharāya. Those mentioned by Mr. Sewell have not yet been critically examined. Three records from Bārakūru (South Canara), Tāḍpatri (Anantapur) and Jambai (South Arcot) mention a few of Vīra Narasimha's subordinates. These were Basavarasa-Oḍeya ruling the Bārakūru-rājya, the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Rāmayasola-Mahārāja, one of the Uraiṇūr Cholas of the Solar race and Śālva Timmarasa, the *mahāpradhāna* of the king. At Rāmēśvaram near Proddaṭūr (Cuddappah) is a record dated in Śaka 1430, Vibhava, which does not refer to any ruling king, but mentions gifts made to the temple of Rāmayadēva by Śālva Govindarāja, son of Rāchirāja of the Kaundinya-gōtra. Āpastamba-sūtra and the Yajus-śākha, for the merit of Vīra Narasimha Rāya and

Sāluva Timmayya. On Friday, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of Viśāka in the Śaka year 1431, Śukla, Vira Narasimha Rāya was still ruling at Vijayanagara, when his *mahāpradhāna* Sāluva-Timmayyāṅṅāru made a grant of a village in Gutti-rājya to the temple of Rāmēśvara at Tāḍiparati. This Sāluva Timmayya, of whom more will be said in the sequel, is the famous minister that played so prominent a part in state politics during the reigns of Vira Narasimha Rāya and his successor, the great Krishna Rāya. Sāluva Timma's parentage, as given in the Konḍaviḍu inscription shows that Sāluva Govindarāja of the Rāmēśvaram and Mōpūr records must have been identical with the Gaundaja or Gandarajo mentioned by Nuniz as a brother of Sāluva Timma and holding an important executive function in one of the provinces of the Vijayanagar Empire.

Before going into the reign of Krishnarāya it may be useful to see what copper plates and Nuniz have to say about Vira Narasimha. The former praise him as a virtuous king who made gifts at various sacred places, such as Rāmēśvaram, Śrīrangam, Kumbhakōṇam, Chidambaram, Śōnāsila (Tiruvannāmalai), Kānchi, Kālahasti, Śrīsāila, Ahōbala, Mahānandi, Nivrītti, Harihara and Gōkarna. But Nuniz says that during the six years of his rule Busbalrao was always at war; for as soon as his father was dead, the whole land revolted under its captains; and that about the time of his death, in order to secure the throne for his own son, he issued the cruel order that the eyes of his step-brother Krishna Rāya should be put out. Whatever the estimate of Nuniz may be of Vira Narasimha's character he seems to be certainly right when he says that the whole land revolted on Narasa Nāyaka's death. In an inscription from the Kaḍūr district (Mysore), we are told of an expedition carried into the Tuḷu-rāj by Bhujabala Mahārāya (i.e. Busbalrao) in order perhaps to quell the rebellious feudatories of that province, one of whom at least, the Kalasa-Karkala chief Yimmaḍi-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya is stated in the record to have been quite anxious about the continuance of his petty estate.

The Mussalman Governor at Goa, according to the Italian traveller Varthema, was at war with Narasimha of Vijayanagara, about the year A.D. 1506. The Ummattūr chiefs in the eastern part of the Mysore country must also have grown powerful, if they had not actually revolted, and must have held permanent rule (*sthīrarājya*) at Terkanambi (Gundlupet Taluka) and the surrounding country. Other petty chieftains of Mysore also cannot have kept the peace; else, as we shall see in the sequel there would have been no necessity for Krishna Rāya to have gone on a victorious tour immediately after his coronation to put down these petty rulers. For the same reason, too, we may not be far wrong if we infer that the Gajapati king had carried his influence far into the interior of the Vijayanagara kingdom and had held the fortresses of Konḍaviḍu and Udayagiri which were situated in the Karnāṭa country. The Muhammadan kings of Bijapur also could not but

have found the Tuluva usurpation by Narasana Nayaka, or rather, by his son Vira Narasimha Rāya a favourable opportunity to pounce once again on their natural enemies, the Hindu kings of Vijayanagara.

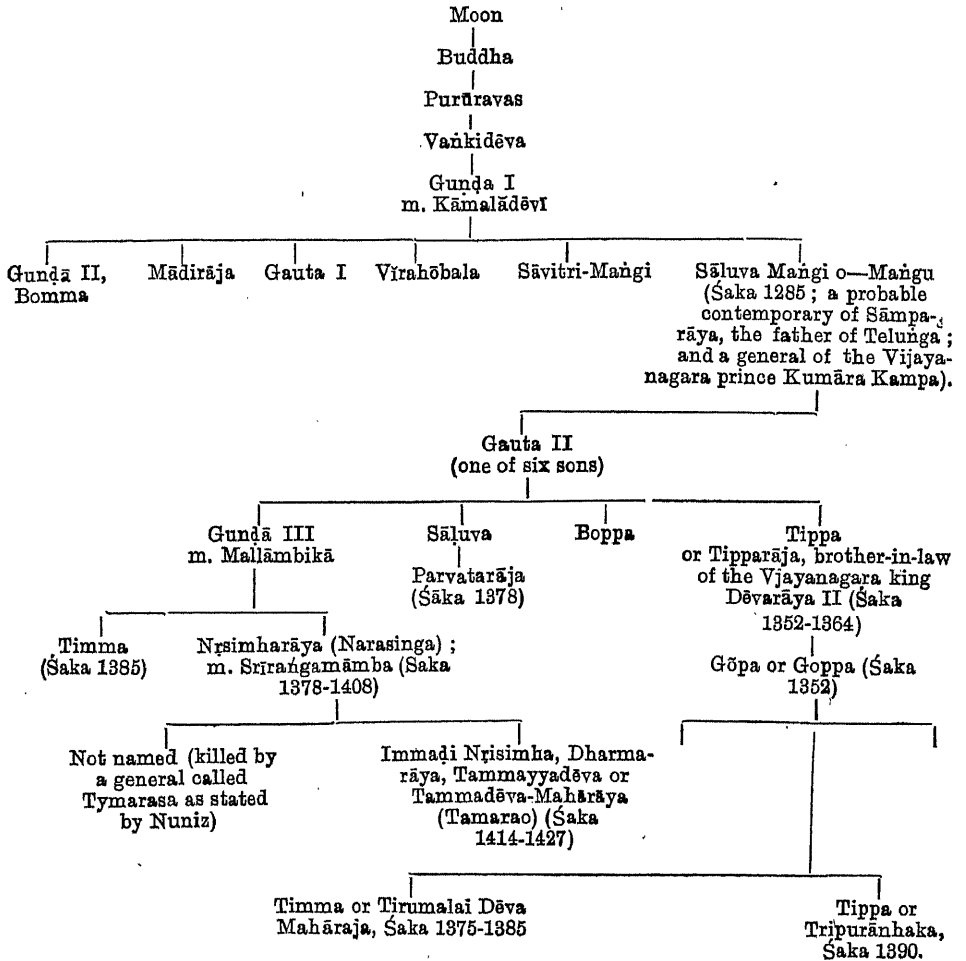
GENERAL REBELLION AT VIRA NARASIMHA'S ACCESSION

From these extracts it is clear that Vira Narasimha's accession was the signal for a general rebellion in the provinces probably because of the innovation to set aside the titular ruler Immaḍi Narasimha. He was able to regain for the empire some at any rate of the rebel provinces, though he left some to his successor to bring under allegiance. Vira Narasimha thus succeeded to power sometime in A.D. 1505 and to the position of Emperor perhaps some time after, giving rise to the series of rebellions of the more distant provinces. The short period of his rule did not permit of his bringing all of them back to their allegiance, and he had to bequeath to his successor not only the empire but also the responsibility of keeping it from dismemberment by rebellion within, and by the ceaseless advance of the last great Gajapati Pratāpa Rudra whom we hear of about this time in possession of Udayagiri.

CONCLUSIONS

Our investigations then lead us to this conclusion in regard to the second part of the problem we set to ourselves in the extracts from Sewell with which we began the enquiry. Sāluva Narasinga's usurpation took place in A.D. 1485-6 as the inevitable result of misrule and usurpation in Vijayanagar before him. He took upon himself the responsibilities from no unworthy motives of personal greed or even mere dynastic ambition. Far rather the dominant motive seems to have been the preservation of the empire from dismemberment. He passed this motive and his real power and his responsibilities to his veteran general Narasa, who carried out loyally what was bequeathed to him, the command of power and the responsibilities involved in this, by placing on the throne the son of his master but carrying on the administration himself to the day of his death in A.D. 1505. His son Vira Narasimha succeeded to his power immediately and to the throne a little later to the detriment of empire which could be preserved from dismemberment only by the indomitable energy and the effective warring of his successor brother King Krishna Dēva Rāya who came to the throne about the end of the year 1509.

Pedigree of the Saluvas



APPENDIX

(1) Śaka. 1378. Dhātri. Tirumalai (Tirupati) A.D. 1456.	253 of 1904.	Narasingadēva Mahārāja, son of Gundaiyadēva Mahārāja.	Gift of Ālipuram in Vaikunda Valanādu (a subdivision) of Chandragiri rājya.
(2) Śaka. 1381. Pramāthin. A.D. 1459.	Kāviriippakkam. 392 of 1905.	Mallikārjuna, son of Virapratāpadēva Mahārāja.	Gift for the merit of Narasingarāja Uḍaiyār; refers to Mahāsabhai of Kāviriippakkam.
(3) Śaka. 1385. Subhānu. A.D. 1463.	Tirumalai (Tirupati) 249 of 1904.	Tirumalaidēva Mahārāja, son of Guṇḍarāja Uḍaiyār.	Gift for the merit of Narasingarāja Uḍaiyār.
(4) Śaka. 1388. A.D. 1466.	Kolar 33.	Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Narasimha.	Restores grants of Rājendrachola and Vira Belālā.
(5) Śaka. 1389. Sarvajit. A.D. 1467.	Tirumalai (Tirupati) 250 of 1904.	Narasingadēvaiya Mahārāja Uḍaiyār, son of Gundaiyadēva Mahārāja Uḍaiyār.	Gift of five villages to the temple.
(6) Śaka. 1393. Jyēshta. Śukla 15 Śukravāra Sōmōparāga (Eclipse of the moon), A.D. 1471.	Nāgamangala 79.	Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Mēdinimisaraṅgaṇḍa Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Narasingayadēva Mahā arasugaḷu, etc.	No. 59 in the same place gives the first title Mēdini mīṣeyarāṅgaṇḍa.
(7) Śaka. 1393. expired. Vikrita. A.D. 1471.	Tirukoilūr.	Sāluvaganda Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Narasimhadēva Mahārāja.	Repairs to the outer wall and the gopura by Aṇṇamarasa.
(8) Śaka. 1394. Nandana. A.D. 1472.	Villiyānallūr.	Virūpāksharāja, son of Dēvarāja.	Gift of land for the merit of Sāluva Narasimharāja.
(9) Śaka 1400. Viḷambi. Chaitra, Śu 10. A.D. 1478.	Chennapaṭṇa 158.	Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara, Mēdinimisaraṅgaṇḍa Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Sāluva Narasingarāja.	A number of Voḍeyars made a grant for the merit of Narasinga.
(10) Śaka 1403. Plava current. Jyēshta, Śu. 10. A.D. 1481.	Kāṅkānhalli 8.	Mahāmaṇḍalika Sāluvanarasimha.	'Namma Channapaṭṇada Rājyakke'. Our Channapaṭṇa Province.
(11) Śaka 1403. A.D. 1481.	Anbil, 594 of 1902.	Sāluva Sangama dēva Mahārāja.	....

(12) Śaka 1405. Śōbhakrit (expired) ought to be current, A.D. 1482, 83 or 84 (S).	Gangaikondasōla- puram 83 of 1893.	Virūpaksharāya.	....
(13) Seems Śaka 1405. Śō- bhakrit, A.D. 1483.	Tiruvakkarai, 318 of 1909.	Sāluva Narasinga Rāya I.	Mentions a N ā g a m a Nāyaka foremost of his servants.
(14) Śaka (1404 ?) Śōbha- krit, A.D. 1482-83 (S).	Tiruvakkarai, 198 of 1904.	Narasingadēva.	Narasa Nāyaka, an agent of the <i>King</i> , renewing revision of a tax.
(15) Śaka 1406. A.D. 1484.	Māgaḍi 32.	Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Nara- singa.	....
(16) Śaka 1406. Saumya (wrong) A.D. 1484.	Tirukkachohūr, 318 of 1909.	Sāluva Narasinga Rāya I.	Mentions a N ā g a m a Nāya- ka foremost of his servants.
(17) Śaka 1407. Visvā- vasu, Śravana ba 2, Adivara (?) Friday, July 9, 1485 (S).	Mulbāgal 104.	Virūpaksharāya Mahā- rāya ruling, under the Government of Nara- simha Raja Voḍeyār.	....
(19) Śaka 1408. Parābha- va. A.D. 1486.	Anbil, 593 of 1902.	Dēvarāya Mahārāya Vi- rūpaksharāya Prauḍa- dēva Mahārāya.	Gift of land by Sāluva Sangama.
(20) Śaka 1408. Parābha- va, Kārtika Śukla 5. Nov. 1, 1486 (S).	Tumkur 54.	Srīmad Rājadhira Rāja Paramēsvara prauḍa- pratāpa Narasinga- rāyaru Vidhyānagara- dālī Vajrasimbāsana- rūḍhar āgi prithviyam āluva rāyara appane- yalu.	....
(21) Śaka 1412, A.D. 1490.	Bowringpet 14.	Kaṭṭāri Sāluva.	....
(22) Śaka 1414, (?) A.D. 1493.	Kolar 34.	Immaḍi Narasimha.	Refers to Narasingadēva Arasugaḷu, son of Chikka Timma Arasu- gaḷu. Immaḍi is obliterated.
(23) Śaka 1414, Paridhavi, Māgha Śu. 10, Sun- day, Jan. 27, A.D. 1493.	Mudegere 54.	Srīman Mahāmaṇḍalē- vara Paśehimasamu- drādhīpati kaṭṭāri sā- luva yimmaḍi Nara- singa Rāyaru.	....
....	Mudegere 56	(Same as above)	....
(24) Śaka 1414. Paridhāvi. A.D. 1493.	Pūratukōvil 736 of 1909.	Bhujabalarāya.	....
(25) Śaka 1415, A.D. 1493, Wed., Sep. 25.	Gōrībīdanūr 80.	Immaḍi Narasimha, with only Mahāmaṇḍalē- vara.	Gift by Kēśava Nāyaka for the merit of Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya Mahā- raya.

(26) Śaka 1415. Sarvajit by mistake for Pra- mādhī Pushya Śukla 10, Dec. 18, 1493.	Doddapallāpur. 42 & 45.	Śrīman Mahārājadhi- rāja, Rāja Paramēś- vara, Medinimīsara- ganḍa Kaṭṭāri Śāluva Śāluva Immaḍi Rāya Mahārāya with su- preme titles, (Grant on Makarasankarānti.)	Prince Śāluva Dēvappa Nāyaka, Governor of Tippur.
(27) Śaka 1415. Prama- dhin by mistake for Pramādhīcha? A.D. 1493.	Muttukūru Cuddap- pah District 516 of 1906.	Śāluva: Immaḍi Nara- singa Rāya Mahārāya, son of Śāluva Nara- singadēva Mahārāya.	The king is said to have been ruling at Vijaya- nagar. Gift of taxes in Muttukūru to Chan- akēsava temple by a servant of Narasāyā- ningāru a subordinate of the king.
(28) Śaka 1414. (?) Ān- anda, Pushya, ba. 5 (ought to be Śaka 1416. Jan. 15, 1495.) (S).	Kolar 34.	Immaḍi Narasimha Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Medinimīsara- ganḍa Kaṭṭāri Śāluva Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya Mahā- rāyaru.	Refers to Narasingadēva Arasugaḷu, son of Chikka Timma Arasu- gaḷu.
(29) Śaka 1416. Pramā- dhīcha Viśāka bahula 14. A.D. 1494.	Mūdegere 50.	Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalēś- vara Paścimasamud- rādīpati Yimmaḍi Narasingarāyaru.	....
(30) Śaka 1416. Ānanda, Māgha, Śu. 1. Jan. 27, 1495. (S).	Dēvanhalli 66.	Śrīmanmahāmaṇḍalēś- vara..... .....agreswara..... Narasingarāya Mahā- rāyaru prithivirājyam geyyuttirālu.	....
(31) Śaka, 1416, Ānanda, Jyeshṭha, ba. 8. May 29, 1494 (S).	Kunigal 26.	Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalēś- vara Mēdinimīsara- ganḍa Kaṭṭāri Śāluva Śāluva Immaḍi Rāya Mahārāyara Komāra Sullirīya Dēvappa Nāyakaru.	....
(32) Śaka 1416. (error for 1417) Rākshasa, Chaitra Śu. 1. A.D. 1494.	Hoskōṭe 23.	Immaḍi Narasingarāya without any royal titles.	....
(33) Śaka 1417. Rākshasa, Māgha, bahula 14, Sivarātri, Jan. 14, A.D. 1496.	Maddagiri 33.	Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalēś- vara Mēdinimīsara- ganḍa Kaṭṭāri Śāluva Śāluva Immaḍi Nara- singa Rāyaru Sēnāthi pathiNarasannaNāya- kara baṇṭa, etc.	....
(34) Śaka 1417 Rākshasa Chaitra, Śu. 1. A.D. 1496.	Bangalore 123.	Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya without any royal titles.	Grant by Anantayyadēva Mahāarasu for the merit of Immaḍi Nara- singa.

(35)	Śaka 1418. Rākshasa, Māgha, ba. 30. Feb. 13, 1496 (S).	Kolar 1.		Dharma Mahāmaṇḍalēvara.....	Grant in eclipse of the sun.
(36)	Śaka 1418. Rākshasa, Śravaṇa ba. 30, A.D. 1496.	Māgaḍi 31.		Śāluva Yimmaḍi Narasingarāya Mahārāya.	
(37)	Śaka 1418. Nala, Āsvyūja Su. 12, A.D. 1496.	Mysore 33.		Grant for the merit of Immaḍi Narasinga.	....
(38)	Śaka 1420. Pingala Āsvyūja ba 5, A.D. 1498.	Heggaḍeḍevanakote 35 and 36.		Mēdini misra gaṇḍa kaṇṭhi (kaṭṭāri?) Śāluva Narasinga Rāyara Mahāpradhāna Narasanna Nāyakaru.	....
(39)	Śaka 1419. or 20 (by mistake 1400) Pingala Vaiśāka Śud 5 (See Hg. 97 for correction of date) 12th April, A.D. 1498.	Do.	74	Narasingarāya Mahārāya with royal titles as below :— Svasti Samasta bhuvanārayam, Śrī-prithvīvallabha Śrīman Mahāmēdini miṣeyara-gaṇḍa Kaṭhāri Śāluva Narasingarāya Mahā Rāyara Maneya Pradhāna Tipparasayya.	Narasanna Nāyakaru Yarama Nāyakaru gave a <i>sutra guttage</i> of 30 ga of land.
(40)	Śaka 1420. Kālayukti, A.D. 1498.	Prodduṭṭuru, 1904.	386 of	Śāluva Narasimha Nāyiningaru.	This officer made a grant to Baṇēvara of Magge.
(41)	Śaka 1421. Siddhārti Vaikāsi 5, A.D. 1499.	Mālūr 5.		Śrīman Mahārājādhirāja Rāja Paramēśvara Mēdini Misaragaṇḍa Kaṭhāri Śāluva Narasimharāyar Kāriyattukukkattan āna Narasa Nāyakkan.	Narasa Nāyiningaru is spoken of as a partner (pampu) with the Śāluva Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya (in the sovereignty of Vijayanagar). Does <i>Pampu</i> mean <i>partner</i> or <i>Commissioner</i> .
(42)	Śaka 1421. Siddhārti current pushya ba 11, Makarasankrānti, Dec. 28 (?) A.D. 1499.	Heggaḍeḍevanakote 59.			....
(44)	Śaka 1421. Siddhārti, A.D. 1499.	Manigarakere, 1901.	166 of	Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya.	Grant of Sagare and another village to the Brahmins, etc., of the locality by Sivanasa-mudrada Tipparasa with the permission of Narasanna Nāyaka whose jāgir Bayānādu containing these villages was.....
					Gift of land.

- (45)
Śaka 1421. Siddharti, Tiruppattūr, 89 of Śāluva Immaḍi Nara-
A.D. 1499. 1908. simha Mahārāya, son
of Narasimha Rāya. Brahmadēya declared free
of cess.
- (46)
Śaka 1422. Siddhar- (Copperplates... Lang Mahāmanḍalēśvara
tin, A.D. 1500. Kan, Poona) 31 of Śāluva Dēvarāya Voḍe-
1905-6). yar ruling Nagira
Rājya, Hayiva, Tulu,
Konkana and othes
districts. Gift to Dharānāthadāya
of Dhārēśvara.
- (48)
Śaka 1422. Raudra, Dēvikāpuram, 355 of Gift of land for the merit
Karkāṭaka śūdi, 7 1912. of Narasa Nāyaka by
Friday Attam, A.D. Tirumala Nāyaka and
1500. Iśvara Nāyaka, sons of
Ettappa Nāyaka.
- (49)
Śaka 1422. Raudra, Pirāṅmalai, 139 of Immaḍi Narasimharāya. Mentions Eppuli Nāyaka.
A.D. 1500. 1903.
- (50)
Śaka 1422. Raudra, Pirāṅmalai, 151 of Śāluva Immaḍi Nara-
A.D. 1500. 1903. singa Rāya. Gift of land for the merit
of Tipparasa by Ep-
puli Nāyaka.
- (51)
Śaka 1422. Durmati, Nedunḡulam, 664 of Virapratāpa Bhujabala
A.D. 1501. 1909. Rāya Immaḍi Tam-
mayyadēva Mahārāya. Refers to Narasa Nāyakar
and to the founding of
a village for the merit
of Somayya Virama-
rasa, lord of the south-
ern ocean.
- (52)
Śaka 1423. Durmati, Nandalur, 615 of Śāluva Immaḍi Nara-
A.D. 1501. 1907. singa Rāya Mahārāya,
son of Śāluva Nara-
singa Rāya Mahārāya. Records a gift for the
merit of Narasa Nāyaka
Voḍeyar.
- (53)
Śaka 1423. Āsavyūja, Nagar 73. Narasinga Rāya Mahā-
1502 October 1 rāya's time. The grant appears to have
(Sewell). been for the merit of
Narasinga Rāya Nara-
saṅga Nāyaka, etc.
- (54)
Śaka 1424. (Given by Āragaltūru, Salem Dt. Ammana Nāyaka's grant
mistake as 1444) 445 of 1913. of *Adimaiikkāṣu's* from
Durmati Simha- the kaikolas, and a
'śūdi 10 Monday female servant 'in
hasta, A.D. 1502. order that Svāmi Nara-
sa Nāyaka may be vic-
torious.'
- (55)
Śaka 1424. Durmati. Chaulikere, near Bā- Basavarasodēyar, Governor
A.D. 1501-1. rakur, 152 of 1901. of Barukūru Rājya.
- (56)
Śaka 1424. Durmati 32 of 1905-6. Mahāmanḍalēśvara Śālu-
(current apparent- (Same as 31 of 1905-6 va Narasimha Nāyaka.
ly). A.D. 1501-2. above.) Gift to the same temple
as 46 above by Dēvarasa
Voḍeya for the merit of
the King. The title
Medinimāsara, Gaṇḍa-
kattāri, Trinētra Śāluva
are assumed by the
King.

- (57)
Śaka 1424. Dundhubi, Nanjanagūḍu 88. . . . ha Maṇḍalāsvara Gift of land as a dēva
Pushya, ba 5, A.D. bhashege tappuva- dana free gift.
1502. rāyara-gaṇḍa arirāya
vibhāḍa kaṇḍa nāḍu
konḍu konda (nāḍu)
koḍāḍa rāyara gaṇḍa
rājādhirāja rāja Para-
māsvara kadaha . . .
(Sā) luva Nara . . . na
Nāyakara Maneya sira
pradhāna Timmara-
ṣayya Tipparasayyana
Sira pradhāna Uraḍu
Nāyakaru, etc.
- (58)
Śaka 1424. Rudirōd- Same palce as above Tamarāya, son of Sāluva A grant similar to the
gāri (seems wrong 450 of 1913. Narasinga rāya. above and for the same
by about a year or purpose.
two) A.D. 1503.
- (59)
Śaka 1425. Rudirōd- Maddagiri 106. Śrīmatu māḍini misara-
gāri, Chaitra, ba. gaṇḍa kaṭṭāri Sāluva
1 Sōmavāra, A.D. Yimmaḍi Narasinga-
1503, March 13 (Se- rāya Mahārāyara Kā-
well). ryakke Kartarāḍa Nara-
sa Nāyakka Voḍeya
Kāryakke Kartar, etc.,
agent of Narasa who
was himself agent or
Commissioner of Im-
maḍi Narasinga Rya.
- 167 of 1913 is the same as above almost.
- (60)
Śaka 1425. Rudirōd- Panem, Nandyal Tq. Honnappa Nāyūḍu, son of
gāri. Śravaṇa Śu. 166 of 1913. Bokkasam Dēva ppa
di. 15 Monday, A.D. Nāyūḍu granted for the
1503. merit of the King and
Narasa Nāyiningāru
land in the village of
Panem, etc.
(Donors same as that of
165 of Śaka 1431 of
Krishna dēva).
- (61)
Śaka 1425. Rudirōd- Krishnarājapet 64. Gopalara....varuNarasana-
gāri. Margaśira ba na Nāyakaru astamana-
10, A.D. 1503. vādaga avarige dharma-
vāgalendu, etc., gave a
vritti (for the merit of
Narasa Nāyaka when
he should die).
- (62)
Śaka 1425. Rudirōd- Brahādāmba temple Gift of land and a house
garin, A.D. 1503. at Dēvikāpuram in the village of Kaitasa
357 of 1912. to a certain Samara-
pungava Dikshita for
the merit of (Svami)
King Narasa Nāyaka
who went to Śivalōka
(...died), by his subordi-
nates Tirumalai Nāyaka
and Śvara Nāyaka.

- (63)
Śaka 1426. Raktākshi. Āragal, Salem Dis- Dharmarāya, son of Restoration of village to
Simha. Śu. di. 13, trict 412 of 1913. Sāluva Narasinga Bhu- the temple by Eraman-
A.D. 1504. jabaladēva Mahārāya. chi Tulukāṇa Nayaka.
- (64)
Śaka 1426. Raktākshi, Gōribedanūr, 38. Virapratāpa Narasinga
Kārtika, Śu. 15, Thursday, eclipse of Rāya made a grant of a
moon. (Week-day, Wed. eclipse did village.
not occur), A.D. 1504.
- (65)
Śaka 1426. Raktākshi, Dēvikāpuram N. Ar- Immaḍi Narasimha Gift of land, etc., by
kanni. ba. di. 1. cot, 395 of 1912. Tammayya deva Mahā- Tirumalai Nayaka (son
Wednesday—āsvati (Wed., 25th Septem- rāya. of Ettapa Nayaka) agent
ber, 1504).
- (66)
Śaka 1426. A.D. 1505, Dēvikāpuram, 396 of Immaḍi Narasimha
February 2, Sunday 1912 of same date. Rāya Mahārāya, son
(Sewell). of Sāluva Narasimha
Rāya Mahārāya.
- (67)
Śaka 1429 (6 ?) Rak- Dēvikāpuram, North Sāluva Immaḍi-rāyadēva Registers right of plough-
tākshi, Mīna, bah. Arcot, 354 of 1912. Mahārāya, son of ing (Uḷavu kaniāṭchi).
di 10, Friday Utti- Narasingarāya dēva
ram. Uttirāḍa in Mahārāya.
1505, February 28
(Sewell).
- (68)
Śaka 1426. Krōdhana Gunḍalpet 67. Bhujabala pratāpa Nara- Seems to refer to Nara-
(current). simha Mahārāyaru. sanpa as chief among
Phālguna, Feb. 23, the Officers of Vidhya-
—March 10, 1506 (S). nagara simhasanarōḍa-
bhujabala, etc.
- (69)
Śaka 1427. Krōdhana, Muḷubāgal 242. Narasingarāya (rigu)
A.D. 1505. Narasa Nayakarigu
vuṭṭama vāgabekendu,
(that merit may accrue
to Narasingaraya and
Narasa Nayaka).
- (70)
Śihira bhāgya Śaka- Gōribedanūr 77. Viranarasimhendra, son States that Narasa son of
syābdē (Śaka 1427.) of Narasa. Śvara Bhūpala ruled
Krōdhana Nabho efficiently the kingdom
māsē paurnima, seated on the jewelled
śravana, Arka throne in the excellent
vāsare, Sunday 24th city of Vidhyānagara
asterism, full moon built of old by Vidhya-
Aug. to Sep. of ranpa.
Krōdhana. A.D. 1505, July 16 or
Aug. 14, A.D. 1505
(Sewell).
- (71)
Śaka 1428. Krōdhana, Panem, Nandyal Tq. Vira Narasimha rāya. Gift by the king for the
A.D. 1505. 171 of 1913. merit of his father
Narasa Nayaningaru.

- (72)
Śaka 1428. Kshaya Jyētipura, Hoskōṭe Kattāri Saluva, Saluva
(by error 1427), A.D. 121. Immaḍi Narasinga.
1505.
(Possibly the Śaka
year was correct
and name of the
year wrong).
- (73)
Śaka 1428. Kshaya. Maḷavalli 95. Srīman Mahārājadhi
Dec. 15, 1506. (S). rāja Rāja Paramēs-
vara Bhujabala pra-
tapa Narasimha
Mahārāyaru Vijaya-
nagariyalli Prithvi-
rājyam Geyyuttir
kalāgi (ruling the
earth with the titles
above, in Vijayanagar).
- (74)
Śaka 1429. Kshaya, Nagar 64. Vīra Narasimha Rāja-
Pushya. Ravivā- simhasya Vīra Srī
sarē. Darśe sūryō- Narasimhāndra bhu-
parāgē, (eclipse of pālasya (of Vīra Srī
sun) Jan. 13, 1507 Narasimha Bhūpala,
(S). son of Vīra Nṛsimha
Rajasimha).
- (75)
Śaka 1429. Kshaya, Marudāḍi N. Arcot, Vīra Narasinga dēva
Panguni. 2, mīna, 412 of 1912. Mahārāya son of
su, di. 5. Attam, Śaluva Narasingadēva
Sunday, A.D. 1507. Mahārāya.
- (76)
Śaka 1429 (expired) Jambai, S. Arcot, 94 Vīra Narasinga Rāya, Gift of land by Ramayya
Prabhava, A.D. of 1906. son of Śaluva Nara- Sōla Maharaja, son of
1507. singa Rāya. the Urayūr Solayya
Pottayya Sōla-Maha-
rāya of the solar race
and Kāṣyapa gōtra.
- (77)
Śaka 1429. Parābhava Bangalore 52. Virapratapa Vīra Nara-
māgha. su. 1, Jan. singa Rāya Mahārāya.
3, 1508 (S).
- (78)
Śaka 1430. Ap. 5, Mālor 6. Vīra Narasimha with Reference to a Hyosala
1509 (S). royal titles. chief.
- (79)
Śaka 1430. Vibhava, Āragal, Salem Dt. Kumāra Vīra Narasimha Eramanchi Timmappa
Kumba, su. di. 7, 408 of 1913. Bhujabala Vasanta Nayaka's son Tulukāṇa
Friday. A.D. 1508. rāya. Nāyaka provided a car
for the Kāmīśvara
temple at Āragalūr.
- (80)
Śaka 1430. Vibhava. Proddutūru, 389 of Records gift by Śaluva
A.D. 1508. 1904. Gōvinda for the merit
of (the king ?) Vīra
Narasimharāya, his
father Rāchirāja and
Saluva Timmayya. The
donor built the prakara
wall and a maṇḍapa of
the temple.

(81)
 Śaka 1480. Sukla, Āragal, Salem Dt. Krishnarāya with Śāluva Eramanchi Tulukāpa
 Mina su. di. 7 427 of 1918. titles. Nayaka built a car, etc.
 Thursday Viśāka,
 A.D. 1509.

(82)
 Śaka 1481. Pramōdha. Panem, Nandyal Tq. Krishnadēva. Grant of Būdhīpēḍu to
 Chaitra śu. di. 15. 165 of 1918. Paṇikēśvara.
 A.D. 1509.

(83)
 Śaka 1481. (expired) Tāḍpatri (Tel.), 342 of Mentions the minister
 Śukla. 1892. Śāluva Timma.
 May 14, 1509(S).

(84)
 Śaka 1481. Śukla, Pulivendla 491 of Virapratāpa Krishna-
 kṛtika, Oct. 1906. rāya Mahārāya.
 14— Nov. 13.
 A.D. 1509 (S).

(85)
 Śaka 1482 (expired) Tiruppanangāḍu, 240 Krishnadēva Mahārāya
 Pramōdha. A.D. of 1906. son of *Gaṇḍa kaṭṭāri*
 1511. *Śāluva vanya Vēṭṭai-*
kaṇḍarūḷiya Narasa
Nāyaka Uḍaiyār.

EVOLUTION OF CASTE—II

By R. SHAMA SASTRI, Esq., B.A., M.R.A.S.

BEFORE going to the second part of my essay on the Evolution of Castes, I think it necessary to recapitulate the important points of the first part, meeting the objections raised against them :—

I. The most important point to which I want to draw your attention is the meaning of the word caste. Caste means a social exclusiveness with reference to diet and marriage. So long as a Hindu, whether a Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya or Sudra, observes his social or communal rules about the articles of diet he eats and about the woman he marries, he is regarded to maintain his caste and to lose it the moment he infringes the rules of dietary and marriage. Birth and rituals are secondary, for there is evidence to prove that the offspring of Brāhmans and non-Brāhman women used to become Brahmans and that religious rites were changing from time to time.

Even now all that people care to know about a man's observance of his caste is where he eats and what he eats and whom he has married. These two things are visible while birth and observance of rituals are invisible. [The Lords and Commons of England, now two classes, will become two castes the moment they cease from intermarriage and interdining.]

II. The next point to be noticed is that the Hindus of the pre-Buddhistic period had no such rules of diet and marriage as prevented them from inter-dining and intermarrying with other people. Animal food and liquor also formed part of their diet,¹ They married women of other races also. Usually a Brahman had four wives corresponding to the four classes; Kshatriya, three; Vaisya, two; and a Sudra one or many of his own class. They all employed Sudra cooks in their houses. Sons begotten by Brahman on non-Brahman women were free to exercise the functions of Brahman.² Hence the words, Brahman, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas [and Sudras] were names of classes rather than of castes during the pre-Buddhistic period.

III. With the appearance Buddhism, all this changed. Though Buddhism did not preach caste, it vehemently denounced certain customs, the disappearance of which brought about caste into existence. It denounced flesh-eating

¹ Vide *Apastamba* sixth to third century B.C.

² Vide *Drahyayana* and *Apastamba*.

and plurality of wives and denied Nirvana to those who were addicted to animal sacrifices, flesh-eating and sexual indulgence. The Brahmins gave up those two condemned customs and, as a result, formed themselves into castes mainly with the intention of keeping up their dietary and marriage rules. The other classes, too, followed them and formed separate castes.

This is the summary of the first part and in the second part, I am going to lay before you some points connected with the early relation that existed between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas.

PART II

Early relation between the Brāhmins and the Kshatriyas

From what has been said in the first part of this lecture, one is likely to think that the course which the transformation of Vedic classes into post-Buddhist castes had taken was as peaceful and natural as the growth of an elastic and tender plant into a rigid tree, and that it was attended with no social disturbance or bloody revolution of any kind whatever. But if words have their own biography to tell, as Professor Max Müller once put it, there are some Vedic words and hymns that appear to tell a different tale. The words that appear to have played an important part in the history of caste are (1) *Brahmajāyā*, (2) *Brahmagavī*, (3) *Vaśā*, (4) *Prīṣṇī*, (5) *Go*, and (6) *Kāmadhēnu*. Of these the first five are Vedic and the last Purāṇic. The literal meaning of the first word '*Brahmajāyā*' is the wife of a Brāhman or priest, and it is used in that sense both in the *Rigveda* (x. 109) and the *Atharvaveda* (v. 17). Her abduction by a Kshatriya or rather a Kshatriya King and her subsequent restoration to her husband, the priest, form the subject matter of the two hymns in which that word occurs.

The word '*Brahmagavī*' means the cow of a Brāhman or priest and is used in that sense in the fifth hymn of the twelfth Kāṇḍa of the *Atharvaveda*.

The word '*Vaśā*', a barren or powerful cow, as interpreted by Śāyana and others, is found in the fourth hymn of the twelfth Kāṇḍa of the same Veda.

The word '*Go*', a Brāhman's or priest's cow, is found in the eighteenth and nineteenth hymns of the fifth Kāṇḍa of the *Atharvaveda*. The disastrous consequences that would befall a Kshatriya or King, if he were to rob a priest of his cow, are elaborately described in these four hymns.

The word '*Prīṣṇī*', a wonderful cow, occurs in the eleventh hymn of the fifth Kāṇḍa of the *Atharvaveda*, and the subject matter of that hymn is a conversation between Varuṇa and an Atharvan priest about the possession of a wonderful cow bestowed by the former on the latter.

The story of a terrible war between Viśvāmitra, a Purāṇic King, who is said to have become a Brāhman by the performance of a penance, and

Vasishṭha, a Vedic priest, on account of the latter's Kāmadhenu or desire-giving cow which Viśvāmitra is said to have attempted to take for himself by force is elaborately described in all the Purāṇas. Likewise the story of the destruction of King Kārtavīrya and his family and also of other Kshatriyas by Paraśurāma to avenge the death of his father Jamadagni who was murdered by Kārtavīrya for the sake of the priest's cow is found in almost all the Purāṇas. Almost all oriental scholars have followed Sāyaṇa in taking the words, Brahmagavī, Vaśā, Priṣṇi, Go, and Kāmadhenu to mean a cow of extraordinary powers in the possession of such famous Vedic priests as Vasishṭha, Jamadagni, and others. But line 33 of the fourth hymn of the fifth Kāṇḍa of the *Atharvaveda*, where Vaśā or a cow is said to be the mother of a Rājanya or King, seems to suggest that the so-called cow is not a quadruped beast but a woman, the same as Brahmajāyā or a priest's wife whose abduction by Kshatriyas seems to have been the cause of a number of feuds between the Brāhmanas on the one hand and the Kshatriyas on the other. If reliance can be placed upon this plain interpretation of the word, Vaśā, and if it can be extended to all the cowhymns, then what has hitherto appeared to be an inexplicable myth resolves itself into a credible historical episode, evidencing an institution or custom, the like of which is still prevalent in what is called the land of Paraśurāma, i.e. the States of Travancore and Cochin. The peculiar Vedic custom that can be based upon this interpretation and which has become extinct outside the States of Travancore and Cochin appears to have been somewhat as follows:—

There seems to have been an institution of women, called Brahmajāyas, Brahmagavīs, Vaśās or Cows, whom the priests had the exclusive privilege to marry. The Kshatriya class seems to have been the result of the union of these women with the Brāhman priests. The eldest son of the high priest and the chief Brahmajāyā seems to have been invested with ruling powers while the sons of other priests and other Brahmajāyās formed a band of soldiers or militia. Neither the king nor the soldiers seem to have been allowed to marry. The fifth verse of the Brahmajāyā hymn where a bachelor is said to have restored to Brihaspati or the chief priest, his consort seems to suggest the above idea. The kings of several States seem to have protested against this custom and themselves married the Brahmajāyās or Brahmagavīs. This breach of custom on the part of the Kshatriyas apparently brought about the occasional feuds between the Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas, implied by the Brahmajāyā and other hymns. The war between Viśvāmitra and Vasishṭha as well as that between Paraśurāma and Kārtavīrya seem to have been due to the same cause. Viśvāmitra seems to have fought for the right of Kshatriyas to marry and appears to have brought about the marriage of Rāma, Lakshmana, Bharata, and Śatrighna with the foster daughters of Janaka and his brother, as a protest against this custom. This

violation of the custom on the part of Viśvāmitra seems to have provoked Paraśurāma and led him to wage war with Rāma and his brothers on their way to Ayodhya after the marriage. It is probable that Paraśurāma, the champion of the Brāhmins, failed in his attempt to subdue the Kshatriyas and to re-establish the privileged custom of the priestly class. It is also probable, though partly contrary to the Purāṇic version of the story, that being defeated and driven out by the victorious Kshatriyas, he came with a few followers to the west-coast of South India and set up a colony there, perpetuating the old custom which is still prevalent in Travancore and Cochin and which is attributed to him. It appears that the ruling kings in these two States are princes begotten by a family or sect of Brāhmin priests on a successive line of princesses or queens like the Vedic Brahmajāyas whose male issues were originally, though not now, obliged to live a celibate life with ruling powers, while the female issue become the queens of the State in succession. Like the kings, the Nāyars also who style themselves Kshatriyas appear to have been the offspring of the Brāhmins and the Nayar women. There is no marriage system among the Nāyars, nor do the women confine themselves to a single husband. The Brāhmins in these States are called Numbudris and they observe the Vedic customs. The following extracts, taken out from Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* and Gopal Panikar's *Malabar and its Folk*, corroborate the above facts:—

‘As recorded in the Keralamāhātmya, tradition traces the Numbudris to Ahikshetra, whence Paraśurāma invited Brāhmins to settle in his newly reclaimed territory. In view of preventing the invited settlers from relinquishing it, he is said to have introduced, on the advice of the sage Nārada, certain deep and distinctive changes in their personal, domestic, and communal institutions.’¹

‘Writing in the eighteenth century, Hamilton observes that the Numbudris are the first in both capacities of Church and State, and some of them are Popes, being sovereign princes in both.’²

‘He is perhaps, as his measurements seem to prove, the truest Aryan in Southern India, and not only physically, but in his customs, habits and ceremonies which are so welded into him that forsake them he cannot, if he would.’³

‘Every Numbudri is, theoretically, a life-long student of the Vedas.’⁴

‘The eldest son alone marries. Should a Numbudri's eldest son die, the next marries and so on. Women join the family of their husband and to this too her children belong. . . . If there is no male member, the Sarvasvādānam marriage is performed by which a man of another family is

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. v., p. 154.

² *Ibid.* p. 156.

³ *Ibid.* p. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 160.

brought into the family and married to a daughter of it, who, after the manner of the "appointed daughter" of old Hindu Law hands on the property through her children.¹

'An exception to this general rule of inheritance is that seventeen families of Payanmur in North Malabar follow the Marumakkattāyam system of inheritance through the female line. The other Numbudris look askance at these, and neither marry nor dine with them. It is supposed that they are not pure bred, having Kshatriya blood in their veins.'²

'Hamilton, writing concerning Malabar at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, says that 'when the Zamorin marries, he must not cohabit with his bride till the Numbudri or chief priest has enjoyed her, and, if he pleases, may have three nights of her company, because the first fruit of her nuptials must be an holy oblation to the god he worships, and some of the nobles are so complaisant as to allow the clergy the same tribute, but the common people cannot have that compliment paid to them, but are forced to supply the priest's place themselves.'³

'The Numbudris call themselves Ārya Brāhmanas. Their legendary transmigration to Malabar from Northern India is doubtless true. There is by far the purest form of the Vedic Brāhmanism to be met with in Southern India. A complete account of the religion of the Numbudris cannot be given in these pages. The Numbudri's life is a round of sacrifices, the last of which is the burning of his body on the funeral pyre. When the Numbudri has no male issue, he performs the Putrakāmeshṭi or Karmavipāka Prāyaschittam Yāgams or sacrifices to obtain it.'⁴

'According to the Brāhman tradition, the Nāyar caste is the result of union between the Numbudris with Deva, Gandharva, and Rākshasa women introduced by Paraśurāma; and this tradition embodies the undoubted fact that the caste by its practice of hypergamy has had very large infusion of Aryan blood.'⁵

"The original Nāyars were undoubtedly a military body, holding lands and serving as a militia, but the present Nāyar caste includes persons who, by hereditary occupation, are traders, artisans, oil mongers, palanquin bearers, and even barbers and washermen.'⁶

'They (the Brāhmanas) are the lords of the soil, possessing large powers for oppression and domination over the labouring classes, the Nāyars. All the domestic concerns of the Nāyars, all their social intercourses, all their liberty of thought and action are regulated by the arbitrary will of the Brāhman priests. Not one of them, in their true religious capacity, is allowed to move his little finger except on consultation with the Brāhman priests;

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. v, p. 176.

⁴ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. v, p. 235.

² *Ibid.* p. 177.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

³ *Ibid.* p. 211.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 284.

and disobedience to their orders is often visited with their displeasure and the resulting deprivation of their means of livelihood and banishment from society'.¹

'The Aryan Brāhmans, when they came into the country, had the same social organization as exists among their successors to-day. Their laws strictly ordain that only the eldest member of a household shall be left free to enter lawful wedlock with a woman of their own caste, the younger members being left to shift for themselves in this matter. In ancient times the only asylum which these latter could find in the existing state of their social circumstances was in the Nāyar families which settled round about them. It should, in this connexion, be remembered that the Brāhmans formed an aristocratic order, and as such they were the exclusive custodians and expositors of the law. Naturally enough, too, large members of Brāhman younger sons who were looking about for wives, turned to the Nāyar families and began to enter into illegitimate unions of the nature of concubinage. Now the sanctity of formal and religious marriages was incompatible with the looseness and degradation involved in these illegitimate unions; and Brāhman ingenuity discovered a ready means of getting over the difficulty by a social prohibition of valid marriages among the Nāyars, which would otherwise have prejudicially interfered with their conjugal destinies.'²

In order to show how far the Vedic hymns on 'Brahmajāyā', 'Brahmagavi', 'Vasā', 'Pṛiśni', and 'Go' convey ideas analogous with the customs observed in Malabar from time immemorial, I have quoted below those hymns together with their English rendering, as made by the late Ralph T. H. Griffith. All that is to be borne in mind for the clear understanding of the hymns is that the word cow is not a quadruped beast, but a metaphorical expression meaning a woman belonging to an institute of women under the power of the priestly class for there is no evidence to believe that the Kshatriyas were cattle lifters and that they robbed the Brāhmans, their own priests, of their few cows when they had before them the precious and invaluable wealth of the early settlers of India, compared with which the value of the poor Brāhmans' cows was quite insignificant. Nor is there any evidence to believe that the Brāhmans gave expression to such furious and abominable threats and curses on the Kshatriyas and their kingdom for the sake of a cow or a number of cows while, on the contrary, they received as presents from the kings several cows on occasions like sacrifices and coronations of kings, as explicitly stated in a number Vedic hymns.

The hymn on the Brahmajāyā (Rigveda x. 109 and Atharvaveda v. 17) runs as follows:—

¹ *Malabar and its Folk*, by Gopal Panikar, second edition, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

तेऽवदन् प्रथमा ब्रह्मकिल्बिषेऽकूपारः सखिलो मातरिश्वा ।
 वोढुहारास्तप उग्रं मयोभूरापो देवोः प्रथमजा ऋतस्य ॥ १ ॥
 सोमो राजा प्रथमो ब्रह्मजायां पुनः प्रायच्छदद्वणीयमानः ।
 अन्वर्तिता वरुणो मित्र आसीदग्निर्होता हस्तगृह्या निनाय ॥ २ ॥
 हस्तेनैव प्राह्य आधिरस्था ब्रह्मजायेति चेदबोचत् ।
 न दूताय प्रहेया तस्थ एषा तथा राष्ट्रं गुपितं क्षत्रियस्य ॥ ३ ॥
 यामाहुस्तारकैषा विकेशीति दुच्छुनां ग्राममवपद्यमानाम् ।
 सा ब्रह्मजाया विदुनोति राष्ट्रं यत्र प्रापादि शश उल्कुषीमान् ॥ ४ ॥
 ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविषद् विषः स देवानां भवत्येकमंगम् ।
 तेन जायामन्वविंदद् बृहस्पतिः सोमेन नीतां जुहूं न देवाः ॥ ५ ॥
 देवा वा एतस्यामवदंत पूर्वे सप्त ऋषयस्तपसा ये निषेदुः ।
 भीमा जाया ब्राह्मणस्यापनीता दुर्धा दधाति परमे व्योमन् ॥ ६ ॥
 ये गर्भा अवपद्यंते जगद्यच्चा पलुप्यते ।
 वीरा ये तृह्यंते मिथो ब्रह्मजाया हिनस्ति तान् ॥ ७ ॥
 उत यत् पतयो दश स्त्रियाः पूर्वे अब्राह्मणाः ।
 ब्रह्मा चेद्भस्तमगृहीत् स एव पतिरेकधा ॥ ८ ॥
 ब्राह्मण एव पतिः न राजन्यो न वैश्यः ।
 तत् सूर्यः प्रब्रुवन्नति पंचभ्यो मानवेभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥
 पुनर्वै देवा अददुः पुनर्मनुष्या अददुः ।
 राजानः सत्यं गृह्णाना ब्रह्मजायां पुनर्ददुः ॥ १० ॥
 पुनर्दाय ब्रह्मजायां कृत्वा देवैर्निक्लिबिषम् ।
 ऊर्जं पृथिव्या भक्तोरुगायमुपासते ॥ ११ ॥
 नास्य जाया शतवाही कल्याणी तल्पमाशये ।
 यस्मिन्नाष्टे निरुध्यते ब्रह्मजायाचिल्या ॥ १२ ॥

न विकर्णः पृथुशिरास्तस्मिन् वेश्मनि जायते ।

यस्मिन् ॥ १३ ॥

नास्य क्षत्ता निष्कप्रीवः सूनानामेयप्रतः ।

यस्मिन् ॥ १४ ॥

नास्य श्वेतः कृष्णकर्णो धुरि युक्तो महीयते ।

यस्मिन् ॥ १५ ॥

नास्य क्षेत्रे पुष्करिणी नाण्डीकं जायते बिसम् ।

यस्मिन् ॥ १६ ॥

नास्मै पृथ्विं विदुहन्ति येऽस्या दोहमुपासते ।

यस्मिन् ॥ १७ ॥

नास्य धेनुः कल्याणी नान्द्वान्त्सहते धुम् ।

निजानिर्यत्नं ब्राह्मणो रात्रिं वसति पापया ॥ १८ ॥

1. 'These first, the boundless sea, and Mātariśvan, fierce-glowing fire, the strong, the Bliss-bestower, and heavenly floods, first born by holy order, exclaimed against the outrage on a Brāhman.'¹

2. King Soma first of all, without reluctance, made restitution of the Brāhman's consort. Mitra and Varuṇa were the inviters: Agni as Hotār took her hand and led her.²

(3) The man, her pledge, must by the hand be taken when he hath cried. She is a Brāhman's consort. She stayed not for a herald to conduct her: thus is the kingdom of a ruler guarded.³

(4) She whom they call the star with loosened tresses, descending as a misfortune on the village, the Brāhman's consort, she disturbs the kingdom where hath appeared the hare with fiery flashing.⁴

Griffith's note on the hymn:

¹ The subject of the hymn, parts of which are taken from *Rigveda* X. 109, is the abduction by a Kshatriya of a Brāhman's wife, and her subsequent restoration to her husband. The *Rigveda* hymn contains only seven stanzas, concluding with stanza 11 of the Atharvaveda hymn. *Sea*: The ocean of air. *Mātariśvan*: probably wind. *Fire*: Agni. *The Strong*: Indra. *Bliss-bestower*: Soma. *Outrage on a Brahman*: Brahma's sin according to Sāyana. See note on stanza 5.

² *Were the inviters*: acted as interceders, or match makers, at the renewed marriage.

³ *Her pledge*: her sponsor. *Thus*: by observing justice and causing the abducted wife to be restored. These three stanzas correspond, with slight variations, to stanzas 1-3 of the *Rigveda* hymn.

⁴ The real cause of the misfortune attributed to meteoric influence is some disrespect shown to a Brahman's wife. *Hare with fiery flashing*! Some meteoric phenomenon.

(5) Active in duty serves the *Brahmachārī* : he is a member of the God's own body. Through him Brihaspati obtained his consort, as the gods gained the ladle brought by Soma.¹

(6) Thus spake of her those gods of old, seven Rishis, who sat them down to their austere devotion. Dire is a Brāhman's wife led home by others : in the supremest heaven she plants confusion.²

(7) When infants die, untimely born, when herds of cattle waste away, when heroes strike each other dead, the Brāhman's wife destroyeth them.

(8) Even if ten former husbands,—none a Brāhman—had espoused a dame, and then a Brāhman took her hand, he is her husband, only he.

(9) Not Vaiśya, not Rājanya, no, the Brāhman is indeed her lord. This Sūrya in his course proclaims to the five races of mankind.³

(10) So then the gods restored her, so men gave the woman back again, Princes who kept their promises restored the Brāhman's wedded wife.⁴

(11) Having restored the Brāhman's wife, and freed themselves, with God's aid, from sin, they shared the fullness of the earth and won themselves extended sway.⁵

(12) No lovely wife brings her dower in hundreds, rests upon his bed, within whose kingdom is detained, through want of sense, a Brāhman's wife.

¹ *Rigveda* x. 109, 5. *Brahmachārī* : a youth in the first stage of a Brahman's religious life ; a religious student. *Brihaspati* : that is, the injured Brāhman ; Brihaspati representing the sacerdotal class. *The ladle juhū*, which Professor Ludwig takes to be the lady's name : 'juhū O Gods, conducted home by Soma.' The meaning is obscure. A legend quoted by Sayana says that guhū or Vak, the wife of Brihaspati who is identified with Brahman, had been deserted by her husband. The gods then consulted together as to the means of expiating his sin, and restored her to him. The legend has evidently grown out of the misunderstanding of the ancient hymn.

² Stanza 4 of *Rigveda* hymn. *Seven Rishis* : celebrated saints, sages, and inspired seers of ancient times, Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, Gotāma, Atri, Vasishṭha, Viśvāmitra, and Jamadagni.

³ *Rājanya* : Man of the military and princely class = Kshatriya.

⁴ Stanza 6 of the *Rigveda* hymn.

⁵ Stanza 7 of the *Rigveda* hymn.

Muir observes at the end of his translation of the non-*Rigveda* portion of the hymn (O.S. Texts, I. p. 281) : 'This hymn appears to show that, however extravagant the pretensions of the Brāhmans were in other respects, they had, even at the comparatively late period when it was composed, but little regard to the purity of the sacerdotal blood, as they not only intermarried with women of their own order, or even with women who had previously lived single, but were in the habit of forming unions with the widows of Rājanyas or Vaiśyas, if they did not even take possession of the wives of such men while they were alive. Even if we suppose these women to have belonged to priestly families, this would only show that it was no uncommon thing for females of that class to be married to Rājanyas or Vaiśyas—a fact which would, of course, imply that the caste system was either laxly observed, or only beginning to be introduced among the Indians of the earlier Vedic age. That, agreeably to ancient tradition, Brāhmans intermarried Rājanya women at the period in question, is also distinctly shown by the story of the Rishi Chyavana and Sukanya, daughter of Saryata, narrated in the Satapatha Brāhmana, and quoted in my paper entitled 'Contributions to a knowledge of Vedic Mythology,' No. ii, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1866, p. 11 ff. See also the stories of the Rishi Śyavāśva, who married the daughter of king Rathavīti, as told by the commentator on *Rigveda*, V. 61, and given in Professor Wilson's translation, vol. iii, p. 344.'

(13) No broad-browed calf with wide-set ears is ever in his homestead born, within whose kingdom is detained, through want of sense, a Brāhman's dame.

(14) No steward, golden-necklaced, goes before the meat-trays of the man within whose kingdom is detained through want of sense, a Brahman's dame.

(15) No black-eared courser, white of hue, moves proudly, harnessed to his car, in whose dominion is detained, through want of sense, a Brāhman's wife.

(16) No lily grows with oval bulbs, no lotus pool is in his field, in whose dominion is detained, through senseless love, a Brāhman's dame.

(17) The men whose task it is to milk drain not brindled cow for him, in whose dominion is detained, through senseless love, a Brāhman's dame.

(18) His milch-cow doth not profit one, his draught-ox masters not the yoke, wherever, severed from his wife, a Brāhman spends the mournful night.

A few words in explanation of the hymn will not be uncalled for before handling the other Vedic hymns.

Though Giffith has succeeded in making a correct and faithful translation of the hymn, he made no attempt to find out a connected meaning of the whole hymn and disposed of it by saying that it is partly obscure.

Muir attempted to explain the hymn on the supposition that Brāhmans married the widows of Rājanyas and Vaiśyas and even formed unions with their wives while they were alive. Evidently this supposition is inconsistent with the meaning of the word 'Brahmajāyā', Brahman's wife. Neither can a Rājanya's or Vaiśyas wife be a Brāhman's wife, nor a Brahman's wife the wife of the former. Also the word *Brahmachārī*, bachelor, finds no explanation on this supposition.

On the authority of *Kausika Sūtrā* which Sāyaṇa has quoted at the heading of each of the hymns quoted here, he says that when a cow is seized

Also in this connexion Muir observes regarding the practice of remarriage of women and of intermarriage among the four classes: 'That the remarriage of women was customary among the Hindus of those days is also shown by A. V. ix. 5, 27, quoted in my paper on Yama, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1865, p. 299. This latter supposition [the supposition of Brāhmans taking possession of wives of Rājanyas or Vaiśyas while they were alive] derives a certain support from the emphasis with which the two verses in question (*Atharvaveda* v. 17, 8, 9), assert that the Brāhman was the only true husband. Whence, it may be asked, the necessity for this strong and repeated asseveration, if the Rājanya and Vaiśya husbands were not still alive, and prepared to claim the restoration of their wives? The verses are, however, explicable without this supposition.

It is to be observed, however, that no mention is here made of Śūdras as a class with which Brāhmans intermarried. Śūdras were not Aryas, like the three upper classes. This distinction is recognized in the following verse of the *Atharvaveda* xix. 62, 1. 'Make me dear to gods, dear to princes, dear to every one who beholds me, both to Śūdra and to Ārya.' (Unless we are to suppose that both here and in xix. 32, 8, Ārya = a Vaiśya, and not Ārya, is the word). . . . From Manu (ix. 149-157; x. 7) it is clear that Brāhmans intermarried with Śūdra women, though the offspring of those marriages was degraded.

(goharane), this hymn as well as the other hymns quoted here are to be recited and rites of sorcery performed. It follows therefore that *Brahmajāyā*, *Brahmagavī* and *Vasā* are synonymous words and mean a Brāhman's wife. From verse 33 of the fourth hymn of the twelfth book, where the cow is said to be the mother of a *Rājanya*, it is clear that the offspring of the priest and his special consort is a prince. As Sāyana attributes the authorship of some of these hymns to *Paraśurāma*¹ and as the offspring of a Brāhman of a chosen family and his queen consort is a bachelor king in the land of *Paraśurāma*, the States of Travancore and Cochin, it is not unreasonable to take the word *Brāhmacharī*, mentioned in verse 5 of the above hymn, to be the offspring of the couple, Brāhman and *Brahmajāyā*. The Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas seem to have protested against this exclusive privilege of the priests to beget princes and prevented them from marrying or approaching the so-called *Brahmajāyas*, who, it appears, formed a set, class, or family of women under the protection of the State, as in Travancore and Cochin. The statement, made in verse 9 of the above hymn that neither a *Rājanya* nor a *Vaiśya* can be a husband of the *Brahmajāyā*, is evidently a rejoinder of the Brāhmans to the protest of the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. Both Muir and the authors of the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyana* and the *Purāṇas* in which the story of the terrible wars for the sake of a cow is narrated appear to have found out the inappropriateness of these threats, imprecations, and curses with the occasional or frequent attempts of the Kshatriyas to rob the Brāhmans of their quadrupeds. Hence Muir seems to have taken the word 'go', cow, in an extended sense of property, while the authors of the *Purāṇas* attributed supernatural powers to those animals. I think that both these attempts to explain the obscure Vedic hymns are wrong for there is no reason to believe that though there were occasional or frequent family feuds or wars between *Viśvāmitra* and *Vasishṭha*, between *Kārtavīryārjuna* and *Paraśurāma*, and between a few other Kshatriyas and Brāhmans, some times for the sake of a cow and at other times for specified reasons, life and property were not so insecure among the invading Vedic Indians as to suppose that the Kshatriyas were cattle-lifters and were in the habit of robbing the Brāhmans of their moveable and immoveable property. I think that if the interpretation I have suggested were to be accepted, none of these inconsistencies and improbabilities would crop up, and a satisfactory explanation of a hitherto inexplicable custom, prevalent in Travancore and Cochin, would be forthcoming. I do not think that the legal world is quite satisfied with the matter-of-fact explanation of the peculiar Malabar custom of inheriting the property through the female line only among the Kshatriyas, while in the rest of India it is through the male line among all classes of people.

¹ I remember to have come across this statement at the heading of one of these hymns in the German edition of the *Atharvaveda*. It does not appear in the Bombay edition.

With this explanation of obscure words and phrases, let us turn our attention to the other Vedic hymns, having a wonderful cow for their subject matter :—

The hymn on Brahmagarī (A. V. XII, 5) runs as follows :—

- श्रमेण तपसा सृष्टा ब्रह्मणा वित्तर्ते श्रिता ॥ १ ॥
 सत्येनावृता श्रिया प्रावृता यशसा परीवृता ॥ २ ॥
 स्वधया परिहिता श्रद्धया पर्यूढा दीक्षया गुप्ता यज्ञे प्रतिष्ठिता लोको विधनम् ॥ ३ ॥
 ब्रह्म पदवायं ब्राह्मणोऽधिपतिः ॥ ४ ॥
 तामाददानस्य ब्रह्मगवीं जिनतो ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रियस्य ॥ ५ ॥
 अपक्रामति सनूता वीर्यं पुण्या कक्ष्मीः ॥ ६ ॥
 ओजश्च तेजश्च सहश्च बलं च वाक्चेन्द्रियं च धीश्च धर्मश्च ॥ ७ ॥
 ब्रह्म च क्षत्रं च राष्ट्रं च विशश्च त्विषिश्च यशश्च वर्चश्च द्रविणं च ॥ ८ ॥
 आयुश्च रूपं च नामच कीर्तिश्च प्राणश्चापानश्च चक्षुश्च श्रोत्रं च ॥ ९ ॥
 पयश्च रसश्चान्नं चान्नाद्यं चार्तं च सत्यं चेष्टं च पूर्तं च प्रजा च पशवश्च ॥ १० ॥
 तानि सर्वाण्यपक्रामन्ति ब्रह्मगवीमाददानस्य जिनतो ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रियस्य ॥ ११ ॥
 सैषा भामा ब्रह्मगव्यधविषा साक्षात्कृत्या कूल्बजमावृता ॥ १२ ॥
 सर्वाण्यस्यां घोराणि सर्वे च मृत्यवः ॥ १३ ॥
 सर्वाण्यस्यां क्रूराणि सर्वे पुरुषवधाः ॥ १४ ॥
 सा ब्रह्मज्यं देवपीयुं ब्रह्मगव्यादीयमाना मृत्योः प्रद्वीश आद्यति ॥ १५ ॥
 मेनिः शतवधा हि सा ब्रह्मज्यस्य क्षितिर्हि सा ॥ १६ ॥
 तस्माद्वै ब्राह्मण्यानां गोर्दुराधर्षा विजानता ॥ १७ ॥
 वज्रो धावन्ती वैश्वानर उद्वीता ॥ १८ ॥
 हेतिः शक्रानुत्खिदन्ती महादेवोपेक्षमाणा ॥ १९ ॥
 क्षुरपविदोक्षमाणा वाश्यमानाभि स्फूर्जति ॥ २० ॥
 मृत्युर्हि कृण्वत्युग्रो देवः पुच्छं पर्यस्यन्ती ॥ २१ ॥
 सर्वज्यानिः कर्णौ वरीवर्जयन्ती राजयक्ष्मो मेहन्ती ॥ २२ ॥
 मेनिर्दुह्यमाना शीर्षक्तिर्दुग्धा ॥ २३ ॥
 वेदिषपतिष्ठन्ती मिथोयोधः परामृष्टा ॥ २४ ॥
 शरण्या मुखेपिनह्यमाना ऋतिर्हन्यमाना ॥ २५ ॥

- अद्यविषा निपतंती तमो निपतिता ॥ २६ ॥
 अनुगच्छंती प्राणानुपदासयति ब्रह्मगवी ब्रह्मज्यस्य ॥ २७ ॥
 वैरं विकृत्यमाना पौत्राद्यं विभाज्यमाना ॥ २८ ॥
 देवहेतिह्रियमाणा व्यृद्धिर्हता ॥ २९ ॥
 पाप्माधिधीयमाना पारुष्यमधीयमाना ॥ ३० ॥
 विषं प्रयस्यंती तक्मा प्रयस्ता ॥ ३१ ॥
 अघं पच्यमाना दुष्पच्यं पक्वा ॥ ३२ ॥
 मूलवर्हणी पर्याक्रियमाणा क्षितिः पर्याकृता ॥ ३३ ॥
 असंज्ञा गंधेन शुगुद्धियमाणाशीविष उद्धृता ॥ ३४ ॥
 अभूतिरुपह्रियमाणा पराभूतिरुपहृता ॥ ३५ ॥
 शर्वः क्रुद्धः पिश्यमाना शिमिदा पिशिता ॥ ३६ ॥
 अवर्तिस्यमाना निर्ऋतिरशिता ॥ ३७ ॥
 अशिता लोकाच्छिनत्ति ब्रह्मगवी ब्रह्मज्यमस्माच्चामुष्माच्च ॥ ३८ ॥
 तस्या आहननं कृत्या मेनिराशसनं वलगाज्वध्यम् ॥ ३९ ॥
 अखगता परिहृता ॥ ४० ॥
 अग्निः क्रव्याद्भूत्वा ब्रह्मगवी ब्रह्मज्यं प्रविश्यात्ति ॥ ४१ ॥
 सर्वस्यांगा पर्वी मूलानि वृश्चति ॥ ४२ ॥
 धिनत्यस्य पितृबन्धुं पराभावयति पौतृबन्धुं ॥ ४३ ॥
 विवाहां ज्ञातीन्सर्वानपि क्षापयति ब्रह्मगवी ब्रह्मज्यस्य क्षत्रियेणापुनर्दीयमाना ॥ ४४ ॥
 अवास्तुमेनमखगमप्रजसं करोत्यपरापरणो भवति क्षीयते ॥ ४५ ॥
 य एवं विदुषो ब्राह्मणस्य क्षत्रियो गामादत्ते ॥ ४६ ॥
 क्षिप्रं वै तस्याहनने गृध्राः कुर्वत ऐलवम् ॥ ४७ ॥
 क्षिप्रं वै तस्यादहनं परितृल्यंति केशिनी राम्नाः पाणिनोरसि कुर्वाणाः पापमैलवम् ॥ ४८ ॥
 क्षिप्रं वै तस्य वास्तुषु वृकाः कुर्वत ऐलवम् ॥ ४९ ॥
 क्षिप्रं वै तस्य पृच्छंति यत् तदासीदिदं नु तदिति ॥ ५० ॥
 छिंधा छिंधि प्रच्छिंध्यपि क्षापय क्षापय ॥ ५१ ॥
 आददान माङ्गिरसि ब्रह्मज्यमुप दासय ॥ ५२ ॥
 वैश्वदेवो ह्युच्यसे कृत्या कूल्वजमावृता ॥ ५३ ॥

ओषंती समोषंती ब्रह्मणो वज्रः ॥ ५४ ॥

क्षुरपविर्मृत्युर्भूत्वा विधावत्वम् ॥ ५५ ॥

अदत्से जिनतां वर्च इष्टं पूर्तं चाशिषः ॥ ५६ ॥

आदाय जीतं जीताय लोकेऽमुष्मिन् प्रयच्छसि ॥ ५७ ॥

अन्ये पदवीर्भव ब्राह्मणस्याभिशस्त्या ॥ ५८ ॥

मेनिः शरव्या भवाघादघविषा भव ॥ ५९ ॥

अदन्ये प्रशिरो जहि ब्रह्मज्यस्य कृतागसो देवपीयोरराधसः ॥ ६० ॥

त्वयाप्रमूर्णं मृदितमग्निर्दहतु दुश्चितम् ॥ ६१ ॥

वृश्च प्रवृश्च संवृश्च दह प्रदह संदह ॥ ६२ ॥

ब्रह्मज्यं देवक्य आ मूलादनु संदह ॥ ६३ ॥

यथायाद् यमसादनात् पाप लोकान् परावतः ॥ ६४ ॥

एवा त्वं देवक्ये ब्रह्मज्यस्य कृतागसो देवपीयोरराधसः ॥ ६५ ॥

वज्रेण शतपर्वणा तीक्ष्णेन क्षुरभृष्टिना ॥ ६६ ॥

प्रस्कंधान् प्रशिरो जहि ॥ ६७ ॥

लोमान्यस्य संधिं धि त्वचमस्य विवेष्टय ॥ ६८ ॥

मांसान्यस्य शातय स्वावान्यस्य सं वृह ॥ ६९ ॥

अस्थीन्यस्य पीडय मज्जमानस्य निर्जहि ॥ ७० ॥

सर्वस्याङ्गपर्वणि विश्रथय ॥ ७१ ॥

अग्निरेनं क्रव्यात् पृथिव्या नुदतामुदोषतु वायुरंतरिक्षान्महतो वरिष्णः ॥ ७२ ॥

सूर्य एनं दिवः प्रणुदतां न्योषतु ॥ ७३ ॥

(1) 'Created by toil and holy fervour, found by devotion, resting in right.¹

(2) Invested with truth, surrounded with honour, compassed about with glory;

(3) Girt round with inherent power, fortified with faith, protected by consecration, installed at sacrifice, the world her resting place;

(4) Brahma her guide, the Brāhman her lord and ruler;

(5) Of the Kshatriya who taketh to himself this Brāhman's cow and oppresses the Brāhman;

¹ The hymn, which is partly in prose, is a continuation of Hymn 4, inculcating, still more forcibly, the sin and danger of robbing a Brahman of his cow.

- (6) The glory, the heroism, and the favouring fortune depart ;
- (7) The energy and vigour, the power and might, the speech and mental strength, the glory and duty ;
- (8) Devotion and princely sway, kingship and people, brilliance and honour, and splendour and wealth ;
- (9) Long life and goodly form, and name and fame, inbreathing and expiration, and sight and hearing ;
- (10) Milk and flavour, and food and nourishment, and right and truth, and action and fulfilment, and children and cattle ;
- (11) All these blessings of Kshatriya depart from him when he oppreseth the Brāhman and taketh to himself the Brāhman's cow.
- (12) Terrible is she, this Brāhman's cow, and fearfully venomous, visibly witchcraft.
- (13) In her are all horrors and all deaths.
- (14) In her are all dreadful deeds, all slaughters of mankind.
- (15) This the Brāhman's cow, being appropriated, holdeth bound in the fetter of death the oppressor of the Brāhman, the blasphemer of the gods.
- (16) A hundred-killing bolt is she ; she slays the Brāhman's injurer.
- (17) Therefore the Brāhman's cow is held inviolable by the wise.
- (18) Running is she a thunderbolt, when driven away she is Vaiśvānara.
- (19) An arrow when she draweth up her hooves and Mahādeva when she looketh around.
- (20) Sharp as a razor when she beholdeth, she thundereth when she belloweth.
- (21) Death is she when she loweth, and a fierce god when she whisketh her tail.
- (22) Utter destruction when she moveth her ears this way and that, consumption when she droppeth water.
- (23) A missile when milking, pain in the head when milked.
- (24) The taking away of strength when she approacheth, a hand-to-hand fighter when roughly touched.
- (25) Wounding like an arrow when she is fastened by her mouth, contention when she is beaten.
- (26) Fearfully venomous when falling, darkness when she hath fallen down.
- (27) Following him, the Brāhman's cow extinguisheth the vital breath of the injurer of the Brāhman.
- (28) Hostility when being cut to pieces ; Woe to children when the portions are distributed.
- (29) A destructive missile of gods when she is being seized ; misfortune when carried away.

(30) Misery while being additionally acquired, contumely and abuse while being put in the stall.

(31) Poison when in agitation, fever when seasoned with condiments.

(32) Sin while she is cooking, evil dream when she is cooked.

(33) Uprooting when she is being turned round, destruction when she hath been turned round.

(34) Discord by her smell, grief when she is being eviscerated; a serpent with poison in its fang when drawn.

(35) Loss of power while sacrificially presented, humiliation when she hath been offered.

(36) Wrathful Śarva while being carved, Śimidā¹ when cut up.

(37) Poverty while she is being eaten, destruction when eaten.

(38) The Brāhman's cow when eaten cuts off the injurer of Brāhmans both from this world and from the world yonder.

(39) Her slaughter is the sin of witchcraft, her cutting up is a thunderbolt, her undigested grass is a secret spell.

(40) Homelessness is she when denied her rights.

(41) Having become flesh-eating Agni the Brāhman's cow entereth into and devoureth the oppressor of Brāhmans.

(42) She sunders all his members, joints and roots.

(43) She cuts off relationship on the father's side and destroys maternal kinship.

(44) The Brāhman's cow, not restored by a Kshatriya, ruins the marriages and all the kinsmen of the Brahman's oppressor.

(45) She makes him houseless, homeless, childless: he is extinguished without posterity to succeed him.

(46) So shall it be with the Kshatriya who takes to himself the cow of the Brāhman who hath this knowledge.

(47) Quickly, when he is smitten down by death, the clamorous vultures cry.

(48) Quickly around his funeral fire dance women with dishevelled locks, striking the hand upon the breast and uttering their evil shriek.

(49) Quickly the wolves are howling in the habitation where he lived.

(50) Quickly they ask about him, what is this? What thing hath happened here?

(51) Rend, rend to pieces, rend away, destroy, destroy him utterly.

(52) Destroy Āngirasi! the wretch who robs and wrongs the Brāhmans.

(53) Born of evil womb, thou witchcraft hid, for Vaiśvadevi is thy name.

(54) Consuming, burning all things up, the thunderbolt of spell and charm.

(55) Go thou, becoming Mrityu sharp as razor's edge, pursue thy course.

1. Śimidā: apparently a female demon, or a disease attributed to her influence.

(56) Thou bearest off the tyrant's strength, their store of merit, and their prayers.

(57) Bearing off wrong, thou givest in that world to him who hath been wronged.

(58) O cow, become a tracker through the curse the Brāhman hath pronounced.

(59) Become a bolt, an arrow through his sin, be terribly venomous.

(60) O cow, break thou the head of him who wrongs the Brāhmans, criminal, niggard, blasphemmer of the gods.

(61) Let Agni burn the spiteful wretch when crushed to death and slain by thee.

(62) Rend, rend to bits, rend through and through, scorch and consume and burn to dust.

(63) Consume thou, even from the root, the Brāhman's tyrant, godlike cow!

(64) That he may go from Yama's home afar into the worlds of sin.

(65) So, goddess cow, do thou from him, the Brāhman's tyrant, criminal, niggard, blasphemmer of the gods.

(66) With hundred-knotted thunderbolt, sharpened and edged with razor blades.

(67) Strike off the shoulders and the head.

(68) Snatch thou the hair from off his head, and from his body strip the skin.

(69) Tear out his sinews, cause his flesh to fall in pieces from his frame.

(70) Crush thou his bones together, strike and beat the marrow out of him.

(71) Dislocate all his limbs and joints.

(72) From the earth let the carnivorous Agni drive him, let Vāyu burn him from mid-air's broad region.

(73) From heaven let Śūrya drive him and consume him.

(१२ कांडे ४ सूक्तं).

ददामीत्येव ब्रूयादनु चैनामभुत्सत ।

वशां ब्रह्मभ्यो याचद्भ्यस्तत् प्रजावदपत्यवत् ॥ १ ॥

प्रजया सवि क्रीणीते पशुभिश्चोप दस्यति ।

य आर्षेयेद्भ्यो याचद्भ्यो देवानां गां न दित्सति ॥ २ ॥

कूट्यास्य सं शीर्यते श्लोणया काटमर्दति ।

बण्डया दहन्ति गृहाः काणया दीयते स्वं ॥ ३ ॥

विलोहितो अधिष्ठानाच्छक्तो विंदति गोपतिं ।
 तथावशायाः संविद्यं दुरदश्ना ह्युश्च्यसे ॥ ४ ॥
 पदोरस्या अधिष्ठानाद् विक्लिन्दुर्नाम विन्दति ।
 अनामनात् सं शीर्यते यामुखेनोपजिघ्रति ॥ ५ ॥
 यो अस्याः कर्णावास्कनोत्या स देवेषु वृश्चते ।
 लक्ष्म कुर्व इति मन्यते कनीयः कृणुते खं ॥ ६ ॥
 यदस्याः कस्मै चिद् भोगाय बालान् कश्चित् प्रकुंतति ।
 ततः किशोरा म्रियन्ते वत्साश्च घातुको वृकः ॥ ७ ॥
 यदस्या गोपतौ सत्या लोम ध्वाङ्क्षो अजीहिडत् ।
 ततः कुमारः म्रियन्ते यक्ष्मो विन्दत्यनामनात् ॥ ८ ॥
 यदस्याः पल्पूलनं शकृद् दासो समस्यति ।
 ततोपहृपं जायते तस्मादव्येष्णवेदसः ॥ ९ ॥
 जायमानाभि जायते देवान्सब्राह्मणान् वशा ।
 तस्माद् ब्रह्मभ्यो देयैषा तदाहुः स्वस्य गोपनम् ॥ १० ॥
 य एनां वनिमायन्ति तेषां देवकृता वशा ।
 ब्रह्मज्येयं तदब्रुवन् य एनां निप्रियायते ॥ ११ ॥
 य आर्षेयेद्भ्यो याचद्भ्यो देवानां गां नदित्सति ।
 आ स देवेषु वृश्चते ब्राह्मणानां च मन्यवे ॥ १२ ॥
 यो अस्यस्याद् वशाभोगो अन्यामिच्छेत तर्हि सः ।
 हिंस्ते अदत्ता पुरुषं याचितां च न दित्सति ॥ १३ ॥
 यथा शेवधिर्निहितो ब्राह्मणानां तथा वशा ।
 तामेतदच्छायन्ति यस्मिन् कस्मिंश्च जायते ॥ १४ ॥
 स्वमेतदच्छायन्ति यद् वशां ब्राह्मणा अभि ।
 यथैनानन्यस्मिन् जिनीयादेवास्या निरोधनं ॥ १५ ॥
 चरेदेवा तैहायणादविज्ञातगदा सती ।
 वशा च विद्यानारद ब्राह्मणास्तर्होष्याः ॥ १६ ॥

य एनामवशामाह देवानां निहितं निधिम् ॥
 उभौ तस्मै भवाशर्वीं परिक्रम्येषुमस्यतः ॥ १७ ॥
 यो अस्या ऊधो न वेदाथो अस्या स्तनानुत ।
 उभयेनैवास्मै दुहे दातुं चेदशकद् वशाम् ॥ १८ ॥
 दुरदश्चैनमा शये याचितां च न दिस्सति ।
 नास्मै कामाः समृध्यन्ते यामदत्वा चिकीर्षति ॥ १९ ॥
 देवा वशामयाचन् मुखं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणम् ।
 तेषां सर्वेषामददद्देहं न्येति मानुषः ॥ २० ॥
 हेडं पशूनां न्येति ब्राह्मणेभ्योऽददद् वशां ।
 देवानां निहितं भागं मर्त्यश्चेन्निप्रियायते ॥ २१ ॥
 यदन्ये शतं याचेयुर्ब्राह्मणा गोपतिं वशाम् ।
 अथैनां देवा अब्रुवन्नेवं ह विदुषो वशा ॥ २२ ॥
 य एवं विदुषेदत्वाथान्येभ्यो ददद् वशाम् ॥
 दुर्गा तस्मा अधिष्ठाने पृथिवी सहदेवता ॥ २३ ॥
 देवा वशामयाचन् यस्मिन्नग्रे अजायत ।
 तामेतां विद्यान्नारदः सहदेवैरुदाजत ॥ २४ ॥
 अनपत्यमल्पपशुं वशा कृणोति पूरुषं ।
 ब्राह्मणैश्च याचितामथैनां निप्रियायते ॥ २५ ॥
 अग्नीषोमाभ्यां कामाय मित्राय वरुणाय च ।
 तेभ्यो याचन्ति ब्राह्मणास्तेष्ववा वृक्षते ददत् ॥ २६ ॥
 यावदस्या गोपतिर्नोपश्रृणुयाद्वचः स्वयं ।
 चरेदस्य तावद् गोषु नास्य श्रुत्वा गृहे वसेत् ॥ २७ ॥
 यो अस्या ऋच उपश्रुत्याथ गोष्वचीचरत् ।
 आयुश्च तस्य भूतिं च देवा वृक्षन्ति हीडिताः ॥ २८ ॥
 वशा चरन्ती बहुधा देवानां निहितो निधिः ।
 आविष्कृणुष्व रूपाणि यदा स्थाम जिघांसति ॥ २९ ॥

आविरात्मानं कृणुते यदा स्थाम जिघांसति ।
 अथो ह ब्रह्मभ्यो वशा याच्याय कृणुते मनः ॥ ३० ॥
 मनसा संकल्पयति तद् देवाँ अपि गच्छति ।
 ततो ह ब्रह्माणो वशामुपप्रयंति याचितु ॥ ३१ ॥
 स्वधाकारेण पितृभ्यो यज्ञेन देवताभ्यः ।
 दानेन राजन्यो वशाया मातुर्होडं न गच्छति ॥ ३२ ॥
 वशा माता राजन्यस्य तथा संभूतमग्रशः ।
 तस्या आहुरनर्पणं यद् ब्रह्मभ्यः प्रदीयते ॥ ३३ ॥
 यथाज्यं प्रगृहीतमालुंते सुचो अग्रये ।
 एवा ह ब्रह्मभ्यो वशामग्रय आवृश्चते ददत् ॥ ३४ ॥
 पुरोडाशवत्सासुदुघा लोकोऽस्माँ उप तिष्ठति ।
 सास्मै सर्वान् कामान् वशा प्रददुषे दुहे ॥ ३५ ॥
 सर्वान् कामान् यमराज्ये वशा प्रददुषे दुहे ।
 अथाहुर्नारिकं लोकं निरुंधानस्य याचिताम् ॥ ३६ ॥
 प्रवीयमाना चरति क्रुक्ष्वा गोपतये वशा ।
 वेहतं मा मन्यमानो मृत्योः पाशेषु बध्यताम् ॥ ३७ ॥
 यो वेहतं मन्यमानोमा च पचते वशाम् ।
 अप्यस्य पुत्रान् पौत्रांश्च याचयते बृहस्पतिः ॥ ३८ ॥
 महदेषाव तपति चरंती गोषु गौरपि ।
 अथो ह गोपतये वशाददुषे विषं दुहे ॥ ३९ ॥
 प्रियं पशूनां भवति यद् ब्रह्मभ्यः प्रदीयते ।
 अथो वशायास्तत् प्रियं यद् देवता हविः स्यात् ॥ ४० ॥
 या वशा उदकल्पयन् देवा यज्ञादुदेत्य ।
 तासां विलिप्त्यं भीमामुदाकुरुत नारदः ॥ ४१ ॥
 तां देवा अमीमांसन्त वशेया इमवशेति ।
 तामब्रवीन्नारद एषा वशानां वशतमेति ॥ ४२ ॥

कति नु वशा नारद यास्त्वं वेत्थ मनुष्य जाः ।
 तास्त्वा पृच्छामि विद्वांसं कस्या नाश्नीयादब्राह्मणः ॥ ४३ ॥
 विलिप्त्या बृहस्पते या च सूतवशा वशा ।
 तस्या नाश्नीयाद ब्राह्मणो य आशंसेत भूयां ॥ ४४ ॥
 नमस्ते अस्तु नारदानुष्ठु विदुषे वशा ।
 कतमासां भीमतमा यामदत्वा पराभवेत् ॥ ४५ ॥
 विलिप्ती या बृहस्पतेऽथो सूतवशा वशा ।
 तस्या नाश्नीयादब्राह्मणो य आशंसेत भूयां ॥ ४६ ॥
 त्रीणि वै वशाजातानि निलिप्ती सूतवशा वशा ।
 ताः प्रयच्छेद् ब्रह्मभ्यः सोऽनावस्कः प्रजापतौ ॥ ४७ ॥
 एतद् वो ब्राह्मणा हविरिति मन्वीत याचितः ।
 वशां चेदेनं याचेयुर्या भीमादतुषो गृहे ॥ ४८ ॥
 देवा वशां पर्यवदन् न नोदादिति हीडिताः ।
 एताभिर्ऋग्भिर्भेदं तस्माद्वै स पराभवत् ॥ ४९ ॥
 उतीनां भेदो नाददाद् वशामिन्द्रेण याचितः ।
 तस्मात् तं देवा आगसोऽवृश्चन्नहमुत्तरे ॥ ५० ॥
 ये वशाया अदानाय वदन्ति परिरापिणः ।
 इन्द्रस्य मन्यवे जाल्मा आ वृश्चन्ते अचिया ॥ ५१ ॥
 ये गोपतिं पराणीयाथाहुर्मा ददा इति ॥
 रुद्रस्यास्तां ते हैतिं परियन्यचिया ॥ ५२ ॥
 यदि हुतां यद्यहुताममा च पचते वशां ।
 देवान्स ब्राह्मणानृत्वा जिह्वा लोकान्निर्ऋच्छति ॥ ५३ ॥

Atharvaveda xii-4

(1) I give the gift, shall be his word : and straight way they have bound the cow for Brāhman priests who beg the boon, that bringeth sons and progeny.¹

¹ On the imperative duty of giving cows to Brahmins, and the sin and danger of withholding the gift.

(2) He trades and traffics with his sons, and in his cattle suffers loss who will not give the cow of gods to Rishis' children when they beg.¹

(3) They perish through a hornless cow, a lame cow sinks them in a pit. Through a maimed cow his house is burnt: a one-eyed cow destroys his wealth.

(4) Fierce fever where her droppings fall attacks the master of the kine. So have they named her *Vaṣā*,² for thou art called uncontrollable.

(5) The malady *Viklindu*³ springs on him from ground whereon she stands, and suddenly, from fell disease, perish the men on whom she sniffs.

(6) Whoever twitches up her ears⁴ is separated from the gods. He deems he makes a mark, but he diminishes his wealth thereby.

(7) If to his own advantage one applies the long hair of her tail, his colts, in consequence thereof, die, and the wolf destroys his calves.

(8) If, while her master owneth her, a carrion crow hath harmed her hair, his young boys die thereof, decline overtakes them after fell disease.

(9) What time the *Dāsi*⁵ woman throws eye on the droppings of the cow, misshapen birth arises thence, inseparable from that sin.

(10) For gods and *Brāhmans* is the cow produced when first she springs to life, hence to the priests must she be given: this they call guarding private wealth.

(11) The God-created cow belongs to those who come to ask for her. They call it outrage on the priests when one retains her as his own.

(12) He who withholds the cow of gods from Rishis' sons who ask the gift is made an alien to the gods and subject to the *Brāhmans'* wrath.

(13) Then let him seek another cow whatever his profit be in this. The cow, not given, harms a man when he denies her at their prayer.

(14) Like a rich treasure stored away in safety is the *Brāhmans'* cow, therefore men come to visit her, with whomsoever she is born.

(15) So when the *Brāhmans* come unto the cow they come unto their own. For this is her withholding, to oppress these in another life.

(16) Thus after three years may she go, speaking what is not understood.⁶ He *Nārada*! would know that the cow, then *Brāhmans* must be sought unto.

¹ The cow of gods: that belongs to holy priests.

² *Vaṣā*: a barren cow, a cow; the word being fancifully connected with *Vaṣā*, power, authority, control.

³ *Viklindu*: the meaning is uncertain, perhaps, dissolution, general decay.

⁴ *Twitches up her ears*: in order to brand them and mark the cow as his own property.

⁵ *Dāsi*: of barbarous or indigenous race; or slave girl. Ludwig translates the first line differently: what time the *dasi* girl collects alkaline droppings of the cow; but this could hardly be considered a sinful act, unless the owner was robbed thereby.

⁶ *Speaking what is not understood*: that is, giving warnings which are disregarded. Ludwig taking *gadā* in *Āvijñāta* *gadā* as coming from *gadā*, poison, instead of from *gadā*, speech, translates: 'an der man das gift nicht hat erkannt': whose poison [deadly danger of retaining her] none hath recognized. *Nārada*, a *devarishi* or *Rishi* of the celestial class who acts as a reporter between heaven and earth. His name is introduced as an imaginary auditor to make a warning or speech more solemn and authoritative. Cf. v. 19-9. The meaning of the stanza seems to be that the cow must not be retained beyond three years.

(17) Whoso calls her a worthless cow, the stored-up treasure of the gods, Bhava and Śarva, both of them, move round and shoot a shaft at him.

(18) The man who hath no knowledge of her udder and the teatsthreof, she yields him milk with these, if he hath purposed to bestow the cow .¹

(19) If he withholds the cow they beg, she lies rebellious in his stall.

Vain are the wishes and the hopes which he, withholding her, would gain.

(20) The Deities have begged the cow, using the Brāhman as their mouth: the man who gives her not incurs the enmity of all the gods.

(21) Withholding her from Brāhmans, he incurs the anger of the beasts, when mortal man appropriates the destined portion of the gods.

(22) If hundred other Brāhmans beg the cow of him who owneth her the gods have said, she, verily, belongs to him who knows the truth.

(23) Whoso to others, not to him who hath this knowledge, gives the cow, earth with the Deities, is hard for him to win and rest upon.

(24) The Deities begged the cow from him with whom at first she was produced: Her, this one, Nārada would know: with Deities he drove her forth.

(25) The cow deprives of progeny and makes him poor in cattle who retains in his possession her whom Brāhmans have solicited.

(26) For Agni and for Soma, for Kāma, Mitra and Varuna, for these the Brāhmans ask: from these is he who giveth not estranged.

(27) Long as her owner hath not heard, himself, the verses,² let her move among his kine; when he hath heard, let her not make her home with him.

(28) He who hath heard her verses and still makes her roam among his kine, the gods in anger rend away his life and his prosperity.

(29) Roaming in many a place the cow is the stored treasure of the gods. Make manifest thy shape and form when she would seek³ her dwelling place.

(30) Her shape and form she manifests when she would seek her dwelling place: then verily the cow attends to Brāhman priests and their request.

(31) This thought he settles in his mind, this surely goeth to the gods. Then verily the Brāhman priests approach that they may beg the cow.

(32) By Svadhā⁴ to the Fathers, by sacrifice to the Deities, by giving them the cow, the prince doth not incur the mother's wrath.

(33) The prince's mother is the cow: so was it ordered from of old. She, when bestowed upon the priests, cannot be given back, they say.

¹ The cow which the owner intends to bestow on a Brāhman will give him milk without the trouble of milking her.

² The verses: the holy texts recited by the Brahmins who ask for her as their fee.

³ Would seek: jighāṃsati (as suggested by Whitney, index Verborum) instead of jighāṃsati of the text.

⁴ Svadhā: sacrificial libation offered to the Manes.

(34) As molten butter, held at length, drops down to Agni from the scoop, so falls away from Agni he who gives no cow to Brāhman priests.

(35) Good milker, with rice-cake¹ as calf, she in the world comes nigh to him, to him who gave her as a gift the cow grants every hope and wish.

(36) In Yama's realm the cow fulfils each wish for him who gave her up: but hell, they say, is for the man who, when they beg, bestow her not.

(37) Enraged against her owner roams the cow when she hath been impregnated. He deemed me fruitless, is her thought; let him be bound in snares of death².

(38) Whoever looking on the cow as fruitless, cooks her flesh at home, Brihaspathi compels his sons and children to beg.

(39) Downward she sends a mighty heat, though amid kine a cow she roams. Poison she yields for him who owns and hath not given her away.

(40) The animal is happy when it is bestowed upon the priests; but happy is the cow when she is made a sacrifice to gods.

(41) Nārada chose the terrible vilīpti³ out of all the cows which the gods formed and framed when they had risen up from sacrifice.

(42) The gods considered her in doubt whether she were a cow or not, Nārada spake of her and said, The veriest cow of cows is she.

(43) How many cows, O Nārada, knowest thou, born among mankind? I ask thee who dost know, of which must none who is no Brāhman eat?

(44) Vilīpti, cow, and she who drops no second calf, Brihaspati! Of these none not a Brāhman should eat if he hope for eminence.

(45) Homage, O Nārada, to thee who hast quick knowledge of the cows. Which of these is the direst, whose withholding bringeth death to man?

(46) Vilīpti, O Brihaspati, cow, mother of no second calf—of these none not a Brāhman should eat if he hope for eminence.

(47) Threefold are kine, Vilīpti, cow, the mother of no second calf: These one should give to priests, and he will not offend Prajāpati.

(48) This, Brāhmans! is your sacrifice: thus should one think when he is asked, what time they beg from him the cow fearful in the withholder's house.

¹ *Rice-cake*: Puroḍaṣa; a sacrificial cake of ground rice usually divided into pieces and offered in one or more cups.

² *Fruitless*: Vehatam; a cow which habitually miscarries, and which may therefore be slaughtered 'when a king or another man who deserves high honour is to be received (*Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* I. 15). Prof. Hang observes in his note: 'That cows were killed at the time of receiving a most distinguished guest is stated in the Smritis. But, as Sayana observes (which entirely agrees with the opinions held now-a-days) this custom belongs to former Yugas (periods of the world). . . . the word Goghna, i. e. cow-killer, means in the more ancient Sanskrit books 'a guest' (see the commentators on Panini 3, 4, 73); for the reception of a highly respected guest was the death of the cow of the house.' According to Apastamba's Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Hindus, the Snataka or student, who has completed his course of religious study, when he speaks of a cow that is not a milch-cow is not to say 'she is not a milch-cow', but 'this is a cow which will become a milch-cow.' See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. II, p. 96.

³ *Vilīpti*: literally, besmeared or anointed.

(49) He gave her not to us, so spake the gods, in anger, of the cow. With these same verses they addressed Bheda¹ this brought him to his death.

(50) Solicited by Indra, still Bheda refused to give this cow. In strife for victory the gods destroyed him for that sin of his.

(51) The men of evil counsel who advised refusal of the cow, miscreants through their foolishness, are subjected to Indra's wrath.

(52) They who seduce the owner of the cow and say, bestow her not, encounter through their want of sense the missile shot by Rudra's hand.

(53) If in his home one cooks the cow, sacrificed or not sacrificed, wronger of gods and Brāhmans, he departs, dishonest, from the world.

(९ कांडे १८ सूक्तं).

नेतां ते देवा अददुस्तुभ्यं नृपते अत्तवे ।

मा ब्राह्मणस्य राजन्य गां जिघत्सो अनाद्यां ॥ १ ॥

अक्षद्रुघो राजन्यः पाप आत्मपराजितः ।

स ब्राह्मणस्य गामद्यादद्य जीवानि मा श्वः ॥ २ ॥

आविष्टिता घविषा पृदाकूरिव चर्मणा ।

सा ब्राह्मणस्य राजन्य सृष्टैषा गौरनाद्या ॥ ३ ॥

निर्वै क्षत्रं नयति हंति वर्चोऽग्निरिवारब्धो विदुनोति सर्वं ।

यो ब्राह्मणं मन्यते अन्नमेव सविषस्यपिबति तैमातस्य ॥ ४ ॥

य एनं हन्ति नृदुं मन्यमानो देवपीयुर्धनकामो न चित्तात् ।

सं तस्येन्द्रो हृदयेऽग्निमिन्ध उभे एनं द्विष्टो नभसी चरंतं ॥ ५ ॥

न ब्राह्मणो हिंसितव्योऽग्निः प्रियतनोरिव ।

सोमो ह्यस्य दायाद इन्द्रो अस्याभिशरितपाः ॥ ६ ॥

शतापाष्ठां निगिरति तां न शक्नोति निःखिदन् ।

अन्नं यो ब्राह्मणां मन्वः स्वाद्वैश्नोति मन्यते ॥ ७ ॥

जिह्वा ज्या भवति कुल्मकं वाङ्नाडीका दंतास्तपसाभिदिग्धाः ।

तेभिर्ब्रह्मा विध्यति देवपीयून् हृद्वलैर्धनुर्भिर्देवजुतैः ॥ ८ ॥

¹ Bheda: nothing further appears to be known of this man who refused to give his cow to Indra.

This hymn, which is unintelligible in parts, has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda* iii, p. 448.

तीक्ष्णेष्वो ब्राह्मणा हेतिमन्तो यामस्यंति शरव्यांश्चन सामृषा ।

अनुहाय तपसा मन्युना चोत दूरादव भिन्दन्त्येनम् ॥ ९ ॥

ये सहस्रमराजन्नासन् दशशता उत ।—

ते ब्राह्मणस्य गां जग्ध्वा वैतहव्याः पराभवन् ॥ १० ॥

गौरैव तान् हन्यमाना वैतहव्याँ अवातिरत् ।

ये क्वेसरप्राबंघायाश्चरमाजामपेचिरन् ॥ ११ ॥

एकशतं ता जनताया भूमिर्व्यधूनुत ।

प्रजां हिंसित्वा ब्राह्मणीमसंभवं पराभवन् ॥ १२ ॥

देवपीयुश्चरति मर्त्येषु गरगीर्णो भवत्यस्थि भूयान् ।

योब्राह्मणं देवबंधुं हिनस्ति न स पितृयाणमप्येति लोकम् ॥ १३ ॥

अग्निर्वै नः पदवायः सोमो दायाद उच्यते ।

हन्ताभिश्चेन्द्रेस्तथा तद् वेधसो विदुः ॥ १४ ॥

इषुरिव दिग्धा नृपते पृदाकूरिव गोपते ॥

सा ब्राह्मणस्येषुर्घोरा तया विध्यति पीयतः ॥ १५ ॥

Hymn xviii of Atharvaveda v.

(1) The gods, O Prince, have not bestowed this cow on thee to eat there-
f. Seek not, Rājanya, to devour the Brāhman's cow which none may eat.¹

(2) A base Rājanya, spoiled at dice, and ruined by himself may eat the
Brāhman's cow, and think, to-day and not to-morrow, let me live !

(3) The Brāhman's cow is like a snake, charged with dire poison, clothed
with skin. Rājanya ! bitter to the taste is she, and none may eat of her.

(4) She takes away his strength, she mars his splendour, she ruins
everything like fire enkindled. That man drinks poison of the deadly serpent
who counts the Brāhman's cow as mere food to feed him.

(5) Whoever smites him, deeming him a weakling—blasphemer, covet-
ing his wealth through folly—Indra sets fire alight within his bosom. He
who acts thus is loathed by earth and heaven.

(6) No Brāhman must be injured, safe as fire from him who loves him-
self. For Soma is akin to him and Indra guards him from the curse.

(7) The fool who eats the Brāhmans food and thinks it pleasant to the
taste, eats, but can never digest, the cow that bristles with a hundred barbs.

1. The hymn declares the wickedness and ruinous consequences of oppressing and robbing
the Brāhmans.

(8) His voice is an arrow's neck, his tongue a bowstring, his windpipes fire-enveloped heads of arrows,—with these the Brāhman pierces through blasphemers, with god-spied bows that quell the hearts within them.

(9) Keen arrows have the Brāhman, armed with missiles; the shaft, when they discharge it, never faileth. Pursuing him with fiery zeal and anger, they pierce the foeman even from a distance.

(10) They who, themselves ten hundred, were the rulers of a thousand men, the Vaitahavyas,¹ were destroyed for that they ate a Brāhman's cow.

(11) The cow, indeed, when she was slain, overthrew those Vaitahavyas, who cooked the last she-goat that remained of Kesaraprābandhā's² flock.

(12) One and a hundred³ were the folk, those whom the earth shook off⁴ from her; when they had wronged the Brāhman's race they perished inconceivably.

(13) Among mankind the gods' despiser moveth; he hath drunk poison, naught but bone is left him, who wrongs the kinsman of the gods, the Brāhman, gains not the sphere to which the Fathers travelled.

(14) Agni, in sooth, is called our guide, Soma is called our next of kin. Indra quells him who curses us. Sages know well that this is so.

(15) Prince! like a poisoned arrow, like a deadly snake, O Lord of Kine! dire is the Brāhman's arrow; he pierces his enemies therewith.

(५ कांडे १९ सूक्तं).

अतिमात्रमवर्धत नोदिव दिवमस्पृशन् ।

भृगुं हिंसित्वा सृजया वैतहव्याः पराभवन् ॥ १ ॥

ये बृहत्सामानमाङ्गिरससर्पयन् ब्राह्मणं जनाः ।

पेवस्तेषामुभयादमविस्तोकान्यावयत् ॥ २ ॥

ये ब्राह्मणं प्रत्यष्टीवन् येवाऽस्मिन्च्छुल्कमीषिरे ।

अन्नस्ते मध्ये कुल्यायाः केशान् खादन्त आसते ॥ ३ ॥

ब्रह्मगवी पच्यमाना यावत् साभि विजङ्गहे ।

तेजो राष्ट्रस्य निर्हति न वीरो जायते वृषा ॥ ४ ॥

¹ *Vaitahavyas* : a tribe or people in the north ; literally, descendants or people of Vītahavya. A Rishi of this name appears to be mentioned in *Rigveda* vi, 15, a hymn ascribed to him by Sāyana. The Vaitahavyas are mentioned in the Anuśāsana parva of the *Mahābhārata* 1952—1977, where they are said to have been defeated and slain in battle.

² *Kesaraprābandhā* : I can find no other mention of this woman.

³ *One and a hundred* : an unlucky number used with reference to phases of disease, modes of death and the like.

⁴ *The earth shook off* : in horror at their wickedness.

क्रूरमस्या आशसनं तृष्टं पिशितमस्यते ॥
 क्षीरं यदस्याः पीयते तद् वै पितृषु किल्बिषम् ॥ ५ ॥
 उग्रो राजा मन्यमानो ब्राह्मणं यो जिगत्सति ।
 परा तत् सिच्यते राष्ट्रं ब्राह्मणां यत् जीयते ॥ ६ ॥
 अष्टापदी चतुरक्षीं चतुःश्रोत्रा चतुर्हनुः ।
 ह्यास्या द्विजिह्वा भूत्वा सा राष्ट्रमव धूनुते ब्रह्मज्यस्य ॥ ७ ॥
 तद् वै राष्ट्रमा स्त्रवति नावं भिन्नामिवोदकं ।
 ब्रह्मणं यत् हिंसति तद् राष्ट्रं हंति दुच्छुना ॥ ८ ॥
 तं वृक्षा अय सेधन्ति छायां नो मोपगा इति ।
 यो ब्राह्मणस्य सद् घनमभि नारद मन्यते ॥ ९ ॥
 विषमेतद् देवकृतं राजा वरुणोऽब्रवीत् ।
 न ब्राह्मणस्य गां जग्द्धराष्ट्रे जागार कश्चन ॥ १० ॥
 नवैव ता नवतयो या भूमिर्वधूनुत ।
 प्रजां हिंसित्वा ब्राह्मणीमसंभवं पराभवन् ॥ ११ ॥
 यां मृतायानुबर्धन्ति कूटं पदयोपनीम् ।
 तद् वै ब्रह्मज्यते देवा उपस्तरणमब्रुवन् ॥ १२ ॥
 अश्रूणि कृपमाणस्य यानि जीतस्य वावृतुः ।
 तं वै ब्रह्मज्य ते देवा अयां भागमधारयन् ॥ १३ ॥
 यं न मृतं स्तपयन्ति श्मश्रूणि येनोदते ।
 तं वै ब्रह्मज्य ते देवा अपां भागम धारयन् ॥ १४ ॥
 न वर्षं मैत्रावरुणं ब्रह्मज्यमभिवर्षति ।
 नास्मै समितिः कल्पते न मित्रं नयते वशं ॥ १५ ॥

Atharvaveda v. 19.

(1) The sons¹ of Vitahavya,² the Srinjayas, waxed exceeding strong. They well-nigh touched the heavens, but they wronged Bhrigu and were overthrown.

(2.) When men pierced Brihatsaman³ through, the Brāhman, son of Angiras, the same with teeth in both his jaws, the sheep, devoured their progeny.

(3.) If men have spat upon or shot their rheum upon a Brāhman, they sit⁴ in the middle of a stream running with blood, devouring hair.

(4) While yet the Brāhman's cow which men are dressing quivers in her throes, she mars the kingdom's splendour; there no vigorous hero springs to life.

(5) Terrible is her cutting up; her bitter flesh is cast away. And it is counted sin among the fathers if her milk is drunk.

(6) If any king who deems himself mighty would eat a Brāhman up, rent and disrupted is that realm where in a Brāhman is oppressed.

(7) She⁵ grows eight-footed, and four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-faced, two-tongued, and shatters down the kingdom of the man who doth Brāhman wrong.

(8) As water swamps a leaky ship, so ruin overflows that realm. Misfortune smites the realm wherein a Brāhman suffers scathe and harm.

(9) The very trees repel the man, and drive him from their sheltering shade, whoever claims, O Nārada,⁶ the treasure that a Brāhman owns.

(10) That wealth, king Varuna hath said, is poison by the gods prepared. None hath kept watch to guard his realm who hath devoured a Brāhman's cow.

(11) Those nine and ninety⁷ people whom the earth shook and cast away from her, when they had wronged the Brāhman race, were ruined inconceivably.

¹ The subject of the hymn is the wickedness and ruinous consequences of oppressing, robbing or insulting a Brāhman.

² *Vitahavya* : see v. 18, 1. *Srinjayas* : a people in the north. *Bhrigu* : a Rishi regarded as the ancestor of the ancient race of Bhrigus who are frequently mentioned in the *Rigveda* in connection with Agni, and who are specially associated with the *Atharvaveda* hymns. The story of the overthrow of the Vitahavyas is told in the *Mahābhārata* Anuśāsanaparyā 1952-1977, but Bhrigu is there said to have given refuge to the king Vitahavya after his defeat.

³ *Brihatsaman* : the name of this descendant of the ancient Rishi Angiras does not recur in the Veda, and his story is not mentioned elsewhere.

⁴ *They sit* : after death in the infernal regions.

⁵ *She* : the cow.

⁶ *Nārada* : a Devarishi or saint of the celestial class who often comes down to earth to report what is going on in heaven and return with his account of what is being done on earth. His name is introduced to make the warning more solemn and impressive.

⁷ *Those nine and ninety* : cf. V. 18, 12 where they are said to have been a hundred and one.

(12) Oppressor of the Brāhmins! thus the gods have spoken and declared, the step-effacing wisp¹ they bind upon the dead shall be thy couch.

(13) Oppressor of the Brāhmins! tears wept by the man who suffers wrong, these are the share of water which the gods have destined to be thine.

(14) The share of water which the gods have destined to be thine, is that, oppressor of the priest! wherewith men lave the corpse and wet the beard.²

(15) The rain of Mitra-Varuṇa falls not on him who wrongs the priest. To him no counsel brings success; he wins, no friend to do his will.

(९ कांडे ११ सूक्तं).

कथं महे असुरायाब्रवीरिह कथं पित्रे हरये त्वेष नृग्नः ।

पृश्निं वरुण दक्षिणा ददावान् पुनर्मघ त्वं मनसा चिकित्सीः ॥ १ ॥

न कामेन पुनर्मघो भवामि सं चक्षेकं पृश्निमेतामुपाजे ।

केन नु त्वमथर्वन् काव्येन केन जातेनासि जातवेदाः ॥ २ ॥

सत्यमहं गभीरः काव्येन सत्यं जातेनास्मि जातवेदाः ।

न मे दासो नार्यो महित्वा व्रतं भीमाय यदहं धरीष्ये ॥ ३ ॥

न त्वदन्यः कवितरो न मेधया धीरतरो वरुण स्वधावन् ।

त्वं ता विश्वा भुवनानि वेत्थ स चिन्नु त्वज्जनो मायीबिभाय ॥ ४ ॥

त्वं ह्यंशग वरुण स्वधावन् विश्वा वेत्थ जनिमा सुप्रणीते ।

किं रजस एना परो अन्यदस्त्येना किं परेणावरमसुर ॥ ५ ॥

एकं रजस एना परो अन्यदस्त्येना पर एकेन दुर्णनं चिदर्वाक् ।

तत् ते विद्वान् वरुण प्रब्रवीम्य धोवचसः पणयोभवन्तु नोचैर्दासा उपसर्पन्तु भूमिं ॥ ६ ॥

त्वं ह्यंशग वरुण ब्रवीषि पुनर्मघेष्ववयानि भूरि ।

मो षु प्रणीरम्येऽतावतो भून्मा त्वा वोचन्नराधसं जनासः ॥ ७ ॥

मा मा वोचन्नराधसं जनासः पुनस्ते पृश्निं जरितर्ददामि ।

स्तोत्रं मे विश्वमा याहि शचीभिरन्तर्विश्वासु मानुषीषु दिक्षु ॥ ८ ॥

¹ The step-effacing wisp: obliterating the footsteps of the dead on his journey to the other world, so that death may not reach the surviving kinsmen by the same path.

² The beard: to be shaved off before cremation.

आते स्तोत्राप्युद्यतानि यंत्वतर्विश्वासु मानुषेषु दिक्षु ।

देहि नु मे यन्मे अदत्तो असि युज्यो मे सप्तपदः सखासि । ९ ॥

समा नो बंधुर्वरुण समा जावेदाहं तद्यंनावेषा समाजा ।

ददामि तद् यत् ते अदत्तो अस्मि युज्यस्ते सप्तपदः सखास्मि ॥ १० ॥

देवो देवाय गृणते वयोधा विप्रो विप्राय स्तुवते सुमेधाः ।

अजीजनो हि वरुण सधावंनथर्वाणं पितरं देवबंधुम् ।

तस्मा उराधः कृणुहि सुप्रशस्तं सखानो असि परमं च बंधुः ॥ ११ ॥

Atharvaveda v. 11.

(1) How, terrible in might, hast thou here spoken to the great god, how to the gold-hued Father? Thy mind watched, greedy Varuṇa to recover the brindled cow thou hadst bestowed as guerdon.¹

(2) Not through desire do I revoke my present: I bring this brindled cow to contemplate her. Now by what lore, by what inherent nature, knowest thou all things that exist Atharvān?

(3) Truly I am profound in wisdom, truly I know by nature all existing creatures. No Dāsa by his greatness, not an Ārya, may violate the law that I will establish.³

(4) None, self-dependent Varuṇa! existeth wiser than thou or sager by his wisdom. Thou knowest well all these created beings: even the man of wondrous powers fears thee.

(5) O self-dependent Varuṇa, wise director, thou knowest verily all generations. What is, unerring one! beyond this region? What more remote than that which is most distant?

(6) One thing there is beyond this air, and something beyond that one most hard to reach remotest. I, Varuṇa, who know to thee declare it. Let churls be mighty in the lower regions. Let Dāsas sink into the earth beneath them.⁴

(7) Many reproaches, Varuṇa, dost thou utter against the misers who revoke their presents. Be not thou added to that crowd of niggards: let not men call thee an illiberal giver.⁵

This curious hymn contains a dialogue between the primeval priest Atharvan and Varuṇa about the possession of a wonderful brindled cow. The god has bestowed the cow upon the priest, and now retracts his gift. Atharvan remonstrates.

¹ Atharvan speaks. *Spoken*: declared they promised to give me the cow. *The great god*: heaven. *The gold-hued father*: the sun.

² Varuṇa replies. *To contemplate her*: or, to count her with the rest of the herd.

³ In this and the two following stanzas Atharvan speaks.

⁴ Varuṇa replies. Beyond the air is heaven, and beyond that is infinity.

⁵ Atharvan speaks.

(8) Let not men call me an illiberal giver. I give thee back the brindled cow, O singer. Attend, in every place where men inhabit, with all thy powers, the hymn that tells my praises.¹

(9) Let hymns of praise ascend to thee, uplifted in every place of human habitation. But give me now the gift thou hast not given. Thou art my friend for ever firm and faithful.²

(10) One origin,³ Varuṇa ! one bond unites us : I know the nature of that common kinship. I give thee now the gift that I retracted. I am thy friend for ever firm and faithful.

(11) God, giving life unto the god who lands me, sage, strengthener of the sage who sings my praises.⁴

Thou, self-dependent Varuṇa ! hast begotten the kinsman of the gods, our sire Atharvān. On him bestow most highly landed riches. Thou art our friend, high over all, our kinsman.

To sum up :—

(1) Caste has nothing to do with racial differences. It is an institution of dietary and endogamy and cannot possibly exist among people given to flesh eating and marriage of women from all races. While Vegetarianism is productive of timidity, piety, pessimism, and an undue notion of cleanliness, flesh and liquor tend to engender ferocity, warlike habits, and optimism, removing the undue notion of dietary and cleanliness.

(2) So long as the Hindus (the Aryans of India) were flesh eaters, given to marrying one or many wives from all races, they were divided only into classes, war-like and optimistic ; and the caste was out of question among them.

(3) In their struggle for existence against vegetarian and pessimistic Buddhism which vehemently condemned animal sacrifices, animal diet, and polygamy, the Hindus were obliged to give up flesh eating and polygamy ; and the consequence was caste, thus post-Buddhistic in its origin.

(4) The Kshatriyas, the offspring of Brāhmins and Brahmajāyas, originally bound to celibacy fought with the Brāhmins for the right of marriage and became a caste. The institution of Kshatriyas in its pristine, Vedic form, still exists in Malabar.

(5) Varṇa, once a common name of all classes, perhaps taken from the colour of the garments that differed with different classes, as for example, white for the Brāhmins, red for the Kshatriyas, yellow for the Vaiśyas, and black for the Śūdras, came to mean a caste in post-Buddhistic literature.

¹ Varuṇa speaks.

² Atharvān speaks this stanza and the first hemistich of 10. *Ever firm and faithful Saptapadas*, literally 'having taken seven steps' by which an alliance or a marriage is confirmed.

³ *One origin* : the ancient Rishis frequently assert their kinship with the gods, as sons of Dyaus or Father Heaven. Varuṇa speaks the second hemistich and the first of the following stanza.

⁴ *Unto the god* : the priest Atharvān. The second and third lines are spoken by the poet of the hymn.

REVIEWS, EXTRACTS, ETC., BY THE EDITOR

Archaeological Survey of India

ANNUAL REPORT, 1911-2

EDITED BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL

(Calcutta, Government Printer)

THE first article, by Mr. Gordon Sanderson, gives an account of Shah Jahan's fort at Delhi, judiciously restored during the nine years following 1903, and now carefully protected from official and public vandalism. The second, by the Director of Archaeology, describes antiquities unearthed at Bhita, near Allahabad. Apart from the foundations of a considerable town, the most interesting finds were terra-cotta figures and sealings. Two of Mauryan age 'foreshadow the free and naturalistic treatment which characterizes the later and more developed sculptures at Sanchi'. The most striking, however, is a plaque of remarkably delicate workmanship, probably taken from an ivory die; it strongly recalls the well-known stone relief medallions at Sanchi, but is 'infinitely more minute and delicate than workmanship in stone or marble could ever be'. It is of the Sunga period (second century B.C.). There are also some good sealings of the Gaja-Lakshmi type, and hundreds of figurines of the Gupta period, which afford detailed information of the fashionable costume and elaborate *coiffures* of the Imperial age. Another interesting discovery shows that the use of neolithic implements survived in India to medieval times, though whether as cult implements, or, more probably, in the hands of jungle tribes who occupied the city after it had been sacked and reduced to ruin, is not certain.

Sir Aurel Stein describes his continued excavations at Sahri Bahlol in the Peshawar district. Large numbers of sculptures of the well-known Graeco-Buddhist or Gandhara type were found, and removed to the Peshawar museum. Dr. Vogel contributes an article of high interest, dealing with further important discoveries of Pandit Radha Krishna at Mathura, consisting of four statues of Kushana kings, one of which is proved by its inscription to represent Kanishka himself. There is a life-size figure lacking head and arms, but otherwise well preserved. It shows the king standing, his right hand resting on a mace of peculiar form, and the left clasping the

hilt of a sword. He wears a long tunic fastened by a belt, an upper garment falling below the knees, and heavy top-boots with straps round the ankles. The last feature reappears in some later Indian images of Sūrya, the Sun-god, while the type of mace recurs in the hands of a Vishnu image in the Madras Museum.¹ Of nearly equal interest is another royal figure, seated on a throne, and likewise headless. Especially noticeable are the delicately embroidered borders of the tunic; and floral ornament equally fine in detail appears on fragments of another statue of which the main part is lost. This seated figure is that of the donor of a temple, garden, tank and well. A third fragment is an imperfect torso. From these pieces, Dr. Vogel infers that 'the flourishing period of the Gandhara school must have preceded the reign of the great Kushana rulers, Kanishka and his successors.'

Mr. Spooner writes on five bronze Vishnu images found at Rangpur in Bengal, and dateable about the tenth century. The images are jewelled, and the eyes inlaid with silver; the workmanship is refined and sensitive. Mr. Spooner does not share the view of Mr. Vincent Smith that all four-armed figures call for surgical operation. A connexion with the school of Bitpalo, a founder of the ninth century mentioned by Tārānātha, is suggested, and in any case the publication of these figures is an important contribution to medieval iconography.

Mr. H. Krishna Sastri writes on the third Vijayanagara, dynasty reproducing the well-known contemporary (fifteenth century) brass images of Krishnaraya and two of his queens, and of two other kings and a queen. The curious peaked caps of the kings (mentioned by the Portuguese traveller Paes) are striking; the figures of the queens are dainty and gracious.

Excavations have also been continued in Burma, at Huawza, Prome. A fragmentary inscription indicates the flourishing state of Pali literature in Lower Burma in the fifth or sixth century A.D. and the co-existence of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna cults is suggested by the use of both Sanskrit and Pali. Several bronze images are assigned to the tenth or eleventh century. A small standing four-armed Avalōkitēsvara of fine workmanship, recalling the earliest Nepalese figures of similar design, belongs, perhaps, to the sixth or eighth century. It is hoped that further finds will make it possible, 'within a few years, to carry back the history of Burma, both political and religious, to the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably earlier still'. The Burmese articles are contributed by M. Ch. Duroiselle. All the illustrations are reproduced in excellent collotype.

¹ Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, p. xviii.

‘ELEMENTS OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY’

(VOL. I., PARTS I AND II)

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

(*Madras Law Printing House, Mount Road, Rs 15*)

PRECISELY as we now know to have been the case with Gothic art so in Hindu temple sculpture the execution alone belonged to craftsmen, while the selection of the subject, and every detail of its design, were regulated by religion. The Brahmanical imagery, again like Gothic, had no immediate aesthetic purpose; it was designed as we plan a scientific text-book or build a bridge, to correspond with the order of the world and to solve a set problem. Where, however, the student of Christian Iconography finds his documents scarce the student of Indian sculpture has the advantage, for there exists a body of Sanskrit literature—the *Śilpa Śāstras*, *Āgamas*, and *Tantras*—in which extensive and detailed descriptions are preserved.

It is true that the study of this literature has been severely neglected by scholars, especially in Europe, except as regards the formulæ of specifically Buddhist art. Until recently nothing had been published regarding the Hindu canons since the book of Ram Raz on *Hindu Architecture* which appeared in 1834. A beginning was next made in Babu Nagendranath Vasu's *Archaeological Survey of Mayūrabhanja* and Babu M. Gangoly's *Orissa and her Remains*. But the Travancore Government and Mr. Gopinatha Rao (the Superintendent of Archæology in that State) are now to be congratulated on the publication of the first half of a larger and more systematic work, fully supplied with quotations from the original Sanskrit authorities.

The two half-volumes now available contain an Introduction, an explanation of technical terms, and a classification of images of Ganapati, Vishnu, and Devi, and three appendices consisting chiefly of Sanskrit texts. Some controversial matters are raised in the Introduction. It is claimed that image-worship was ‘prevalent’ among the Hindus long before the time of Buddha, and an argument is drawn from the methods of Yoga. But if Yoga practice is admittedly pre-Buddhist, this does not prove that actual images, or even meditation on visualized divinities, were resorted to. It is difficult, indeed, to see how any general use of images can have been felt to be necessary until

the rise of the Bakhta schools of devotional theology. In any case the general development of Hindu Iconography can hardly have begun much before the second century B.C., and it belongs principally to the centuries after the beginning of the Christian era. Mr. Rao also seems to think that 'mechanical rules' became the bane of art in later times. It is, however, unlikely that the rules as such exercised a harmful influence. Most great artists are extremely glad to have a definite problem to solve, and much of the vagueness of modern art is due to the fact that the artist is left without direction, and is required at the same time to find and to solve his own problem—which is often of purely personal interest. Mr. Rao is quite right in saying that images are to the Hindu worship what diagrams are to the geometer. But this is true of many other arts, and especially of early Gothic, which is well described by M. Male as a scientific script. The decadence which appears in a great part of late Indian sculpture is not due to its preoccupation with set problems, but is to be recognized in the multiplication of non-essentials, due to the shifting of emphasis from thesis to ornament. Yet even the latest of the dogmatic works retain some original virtue of design, and this is only lost when a modern artist, like the late Raja Ravi Varma, gives 'free' expression to bourgeois taste. We cannot agree in admiring the 'realistic style of sculpture' now fashionable, which Mr. Rao considers 'even artistic in reality.'

Finally, in regard to painting it cannot be admitted that the word *chitra-basa*—literally, 'painted appearance'—proves that 'the principles of light and shade were well understood[pretty early by the Indians.]' We know from Ajanta and Rajput work that Indian painting has been essentially a linear art, and, apart from Mughal and modern developments, never aimed at creating 'the appearance of solidity.' On the other hand, it was certainly felt to possess vitality, for there are not wanting legends of painted figures, as well as one of images, moving and speaking like living man.

The explanation of technical terms includes an account of the 'hands' most often seen in Indian images. Just as in dancing the subject of the dance is set forth by calculated movements of the limbs, and especially the hands and the fingers, so also much of the meaning of a Brahmanical sculpture is to be deduced from the pose of the hands and the action of the fingers or the attributes held. The multiplication of hands in a single image is a synthetic device intended to indicate the various activities of one divinity; for example, in the well-known Natarāja Śiva, whose dance is the everlasting evolution, maintenance, and destruction of the world, one of the four hands carries a drum, the symbol of creative sound, and another the flame of destruction. The details of ornament, head-dress, stance, and seat have also a precise significance. To a large extent we may say that the attributes are symbols of natural laws.

The second part of the first volume is largely occupied with the three appendices which we have already mentioned. The second, dealing with the proportions of the figure, is of general interest. The unit of measurement is not, as in European systems, a 'head', but a 'hand' or 'face'. A detailed account of the scale of ten faces is given according to four texts; this is practically equivalent to one of nine heads. This heroic scale is used for images of Brahma, Vishnu or Siva (and in Ceylon for Buddha); the principal feminine divinities are proportionately a very little shorter (and, of course, absolutely shorter when accompanying male figures); a scale of about nine and a half faces is used for the minor gods, and of nine faces for the *apsaras* of the heaven of Indra; while a scale of four faces is used for dwarfs and children. The great detail into which these systems enter—proportions are given for the joints of the fingers and even for the nails—is evidently designed to facilitate the construction of colossal figures. The very ingenious device of the *lamba phalaka* (in Ceylon, *lamba tatuva*) serves the same end. It consists of a board pierced with holes at certain fixed distances; through the holes are suspended a number of plumb-lines, each known by name and used as an axis of reference to determine points on the body of the figure. Thus 'the middle string' should touch the tip of the nose and the middle of the abdomen, while the position of other median points, such as the chin, base of the neck, navel, etc., is fixed by measurement horizontally inwards from fixed points on the vertical line.

The two half-volumes are freely illustrated from photographs and by drawings by the author. The former are not well reproduced on the poor quality of shiny paper, while the latter, valuable as diagrams, betray the baneful influence of an Indian School of Art. The text is laudably free from misprints, and an Index of twenty-nine pages is a commendable feature. The whole constitutes a work of genuine and valuable scholarship. The second volume will be chiefly occupied with an account of the images of Siva in some seventy-five forms, and will be welcomed by all students of Indian art and archæology.

ATHENÆUM,
August 28, 1915.

CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE

MYTHIC SOCIETY,

Bangalore.

DEAR SIR,

It is hardly becoming that one who has but recently joined the Society with the humble object of picking up what he can at the feet of the learned men who have kindly granted him admission, should join issue with an authority of such wide reputation as Mr. Shama Sastri. More especially as I can claim no real knowledge of the subject, nor of the literature concerning it which is available to all those who have sufficient time at their disposal to make a study of the evolution of caste.

No one who has been resident in India, even for a much less period than I have, can have avoided being interested and perhaps bewildered by the pervading influence and atmosphere of caste which surrounds us, and many must have speculated as to its origin and evolution, in much the same ignorant and blundering way as I have done. I write therefore, only to be corrected, and to be shown where I am wrong. Mr. Shama Sastri distinguished between classes and caste. I think it is within the bounds of possibility that caste may have existed, degenerating into occupational classes on the one hand, and becoming eventually stereotyped into the rigid forms of caste as known in India. In this country only has it become fully developed, but this does not prove that it never existed in other countries in which it has now completely died out. If it did so exist, we would expect to find some traces of it in the history of these other countries, as Mr. Shama Sastri says, and this is precisely what we do find. We are in the region of pure speculation of course, but, I think, it quite reasonable to point to Adam as the first caste man. There were other creatures on the earth before him, *Anthropopithecus alalus* for instance, not yet perhaps so far advanced in evolution as to be called man, but sufficiently so to bear a strong physical resemblance to him. Adam was created in the image of God, and given dominion over all the rest, the sole caste man alive. The only possible way of providing him with a wife of his own caste was to create one specially, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. From Adam and his wife proceeded the caste of Adamites, so superior to all the rest of the inhabitants of the earth, that these barely counted, for we are told Adam called his wife Eve, because she was the mother of all living. Nevertheless other living beings not born of Eve did exist at the time. Her first born son Cain, for the crime of fratricide, was outcasted, which called forth from him the pathetic lament 'My punishment

is greater than I can bear', and he goes on to say 'that everyone that findeth me shall slay me'. Evidently a number of Anthropopithecians had attained to the dignity of *Homo Sapiens*, though, of course not Adamites. To protect Cain from these people he was definitely branded, and injunctions were given that he was not to be killed by anybody.

No woman other than Eve of the Adamite caste existed, and even if there had been one, the fact that Cain was outcasted would have been a bar to his marriage with her. He therefore had to marry into one of the perhaps wild, but certainly intelligent though casteless families, and from this union several occupational classes arose, shepherds or cattle keepers, musicians, and metal workers. There is a mystery as to the marriage of Adam's third son Seth, but he must have married some unmentioned sister, for his descendants were of the pure Adamite caste and are called in Genesis vi. 2, 'the sons of God' some of whom married 'the daughters of men' obviously women of the mixed race of Cain and his wife, then as now fair to look upon. This violation of the caste specially started with Adam, caused displeasure to the Creator (Gen. vi. 3), and eventually He decided to wipe them all out, and make a fresh start with Noah, of the Adamite caste, 'perfect in his generations' (Gen. vi. 9). When the *Jalaprallayam* called in English 'The Flood' subsided, we come to firm ground. It is not to be expected that all the accounts of so remote an event will agree, but it is a fact that the flood is recognized by the vast majority of peoples as having actually occurred; it was a tradition among peoples so far apart as the subjects of the Incas of Peru, the Aztecs of Mexico, the Maories of New Zealand, and the Chinese; it is mentioned in the sacred writings of the Hindus and the Hebrews. The last two both mention the same name as one of the great men saved in the Ark, Maha Nuvua, the great Noah, being contracted to Manu in the one instance, and remaining as Noah in the other. The probability of some confusion in the different accounts must be recognized. In both instances is God that looks after the welfare of the Ark. The Hebrews lay stress on three sons of Noah, and the Hindus on seven Rishis, who may very well correspond with the seven sons of Japheth.

So far as the social customs of the people thereafter are concerned we get an insight from the Hebrew Scriptures, which show that after the people were scattered, marriage within a caste, however this became established, was the usage (Gen. xi. 29, xx. 12) and outside marriages if not actually prohibited were looked upon with disfavour (Gen. xxiv. 4 and xxvii. 46). Joseph under stress of circumstances married outside his caste, but his wife was the daughter of a priest, and his exalted position at a time when his brethren were famine-stricken, together with the knowledge of their own guilt, undoubtedly were factors which permitted his sons to obtain the same privileges as the other children of Israel.

The Israelities were a caste, bound by a ritual, and with a strict discipline. Their defilements, real and ceremonial were clearly stated. The necessity for purificatory ceremonies and observances was insisted upon (Gen. xxv., 2., Exodus xix. 10-15, and other references too numerous to mention). Their intercourse with outsiders was regulated. They took a terrible vengeance for the defilement of Dinah by a prince who was uncircumcised and therefore outside her caste (Gen. xxxiv).

So far as Moses was a free Agent in laying down rules for the Israelities, he must have been influenced by the caste customs of the Egyptians with which he was intimately acquainted. The great difference between the Egyptians and the Israelities was that the latter killed for sacrifices the very animals held sacred by the former, and this fact was astutely used by Moses in freeing his people from bondage. There was no inter-dining between the Egyptians and the Israelities (Gen. lxiii. 32). They had strict dietary laws (Deut. xiv). I think all this goes to prove that in ancient times outside India, there existed people who fulfilled Mr. Shama Sastri's definition of a caste, an isolated community of families or group of families all of which trace their descent to one of the Rishis, and have no social intercourse such as inter-marriages and inter-dining outside the group. That they did not observe the exact customs observed by castes as subsequently developed in India no one can dispute, but this does not prevent them from being considered a caste.

Mr. Shama Sastri makes mention of the Niyoga custom, and it is interesting to find it was in force among the Hebrews as related in Gen. xxxviii. The importance attached to it by the women of those days is clearly indicated by Tamar's ruse. Among the customs prohibited during the Kali age and therefore presumed to have been in force previously I see smoking is mentioned. What did they smoke?

My general conclusions are that caste originated in the most remote times, if not by the will of the Creator, as some say, at any rate with His approval. Only in India can it be said that after passing through various phases it has become crystallized into its present form. In other countries and among other peoples it has died out completely, leaving perhaps here and there some faint traces of its previous existence.

Yours faithfully,

AYLMER Ff. MARTIN.

BANGALORE,
October 9, 1915.

CORRESPONDENCE—*contd.*

Through the courtesy of Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, I.C.S., 'Grant Lodge', Simla, E., we have the good fortune to insert in this number of our Journal two hitherto unpublished letters on the Vellore mutiny.

Wilks in his History of Mysore mentions a Major Cuppage II. 228-230-256 but without initials. A captain J. Cuppage is also mentioned in the *Gazetteer of North Arcot*, vol. i, page 90. There is a reference to Lieutenant Nashe in Wilks II, 231.

Our readers may remember that after the fall of Tippu in 1799 his family were removed to Vellore. In the spring of 1806 a mutiny broke out among the native troops of the garrison. A change in the headdress of the sepoys was the ostensible cause of the disturbance, as mischief-makers were not wanting to arouse the suspicions of the people that the British Government was attempting to convert them to the Christian Faith, but the real cause was the desire of the partisans of the House of Tippu to overthrow the newly installed Hindu Maharaja of Mysore and place a son of Tippu on the throne at Seringapatam.

The mutiny which threatened to spread far and wide was promptly put down by the expeditious march of Colonel Gillespie from Arcot, but not before a number of lives, both European and Indian were lost.

(*The Editor.*)

'GRANT LODGE', SIMLA, E.,
September 18, 1915.

THE EDITOR OF THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE

MYTHIC SOCIETY,

Bangalore.

DEAR SIR,

I send you herewith annotated copies of two letters recently come into my possession from Col. A. Cuppage commanding at Nandydroog to Col. Barry Close, Resident at Poona, written in July—August, 1806, with reference to the recent mutiny at Vellore. I thought they might be of sufficient interest to publish in the *Mythic Society Journal*, but you are at liberty to make any use of them you like.

I have not been able to find out anything about Cuppage* but have located most of the other people mentioned in the letters except Nashe's and Webber's identification is only conjectural.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) CHARLES W. E. COTTON.

* Capt H. F. Murland, 64th Pioneers, informs that Major Adam Cuppage, of the Madras Army commanded the 3rd Native Brigade (4th, 9th, 23rd Battalions) in the right wing (Col. Nixon), of the force assembled at Trichinopoly on the 24th May, 1790, under General Medows at the outbreak of the Third Mysore War.

NUNDYDROOG,

July 30, 1806.

Yours, my dear Colonel,¹ of the 20th has just reached me; I continued my communications to you on the 14th and 16th since which we have been but imperfectly informed, as to what has actually come out in evidence before the Committee. One thing is established, that the² 1st were equally in the secret, with the 23rd³ and all at the instance of the Princes. That the principal leader, a Native Officer, who was saved I hear, and now in irons, was to have had three lacs of rupees as his portion, and every private twenty rupees a month for life, if they had succeeded; by the accompanying paper of evidence,⁴ you will perceive a havildar was to have had eight pagodas. He is one of three havildars and thirty-five privates, taken up at Trichinopoly, with whom were found⁵ McKerras' silver bowl, tea pot and several other articles of value, they were besides well supplied with cash. Notwithstanding the evidence of this man, it is pretty clear, the murder of the Europeans was a primary object. The first thing they did⁶ was to bring two six pounders, one to bear with round on the European Barracks, (the men who got to the cavalier were fortunately sleeping outside) and the other on the Main Guard with grape, whilst the Europeans were asleep; these guns were entirely served by the men of the 1st then on duty, the men of the 23rd being young hands and griffins. Poor Armstrong,⁷ it would appear, was sleeping in his pallinqueen near the gate without the fort, where he was first badly wounded by a fire from the works and Moormen came afterwards and put him to death.⁸

¹ Col. Barry Close, afterwards Sir Barry Close, Bart.

² First Battalion, 1st Native Infantry.

³ Second Battalion, 23rd Native Infantry.

⁴ Not preserved.

⁵ Col. McKerras of the 23rd Native Infantry was one of those killed by the mutineers. J. J. Cotton was unable to find any monument to his memory in the Vellore Old Cemetery.

⁶ Early on the morning of July 10, 1806.

⁷ Major Armstrong of the 16th Native Infantry. The inscription on his tomb in Vellore Old Cemetery is as follows :—

'Charles Armstrong, a Major in the service of the Honourable East India Company, while journeying to Madras in the immediate hope of returning to his native country, he was barbarously murdered near this place on July 10, 1806. Possessing unbounded benevolence and every quality of the soldier he was endeared to the army in which he served and had acquired numerous friends. The monument is humble, but the record is true'. J. J. Cotton, p. 131.

⁸ There is a slightly different account of his death in 'Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, vol. iii, p. 187.

Much stress is laid, by some, on the new Turband (what there is in it, to object to, I cannot tell you, never having seen it, but the orders for it, are rescinded) as exciting the men to the step they took, but these two particular corps had never been required to wear it, as I understand, and here where it had never been seen, I discovered some days since, that the Moormen of these four companies, (for the other castes did not take a part in their cabals) allowed themselves such freedom of speech as evinced to me that this description were ready to take a part in a similar performance to that exhibited at Vellore, if an object or opportunity presented itself for imitation, and the other paper I enclose you shew(s) that it is not altogether confined to the Mysore men of which these Companies are mostly composed; however, secured as the Princes are, and probably to be removed to a distance from their adherents altogether, not much I conceive is to be apprehended.

If I get anything further worth detailing to you, you shall have it being very faithfully yours

A. CUPPAGE.

It is very doubtful if the Commander-in-Chief¹ comes back here again although he says nothing to this effect to Lady Theodosia himself.

II

NUNDYDROOG,

4th August, 1806.

MY DEAR COLONEL,

I have just had the following from Vellore of the 2nd: 'It appears by the confession of a Subedar and a Jemadar under sentence' the two I before mentioned to you' that the conspiracy was to have been extensive—letters were written and ready to be despatched to all the Polligars in the vicinity who formerly were in a state of rebellion and to all the Moors, friends to the house of Hyder in Mysore, by which the Princes expected to have had 10,000 men under their command in a very few days. Vellore was to be retained and all they asked the sepoy was to keep it for eight days by which time they expected abundance of support. The Moormen in the Pettah were all in their pay and interest, and they were to have acted a very important part, by which none of us could have possibly escaped, but as if by the interposition

¹ Sir John Francois Cradock, who with the Governor Lord William Bentinck was recalled by the Directors of the East India Company early in 1807 in connexion with this mutiny. Sir J. F. Cradock who changed his name to Caradoc in 1820, and became Lord Howden in 1829, was born in 1762 and married Lady Theodosia Meade, third daughter of the 1st Earl Clan William in 1798. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief Madras, on December 21, 1803, died as Lord Howden in 1839.

of Divine Providence, the plan was prematurely carried into execution by the drunkenness of a Jemadar who insisted upon beginning on Thursday morning, July 10th, 1806, when the time settled was to have been on the Monday following, by which circumstance the people of the Pettah were prevented from co-operating. Another fortunate thing was that the sepoys began plundering by which they were dispersed and could not be got together in a sufficient body to enable the Princes to make their escape. All the Native Commissioned and Non-Commissioned were in the secret, excepting a very few, and three hundred men in Forbes',¹ had previously taken the oath. They held meetings in the Pettah, but the 23rd were not let into the secret till near the time of action. There was nothing before this new turban came out, discontent began to prevail which was blown up by the palace and their emissaries-but what is wonderful that no one should ever reveal the secret except one sepoy² who was put in irons as a mad man by Forbes at the instigation of the Native Officers who said that he was bringing a bad name on the Corps and that they were all willing to wear the turban'. This completely develops the mystery to those who were sceptical before as to the real cause.

The Commander-in-Chief was to return the 1st in the evening to Madras after enquiring into the conduct of the other³ Battalion of the 23rd at Walajabad. He had restored to them their arms and had given it as his opinion to Government that he did not conceive they merited reduction for the irregularities of a few but submitted the whole to the Council to decide upon. You will have heard of the improprieties at Hyderabad,⁴ which from dates clearly evinces that they were to have acted in concert with the people of Vellore. The accounts which speak to this, were written from thence on the 22nd and to-day we learn by letter of the 26th that the turban was little more than a convenient pretext for misconduct, for no longer having this as a reason to excite them to wrong, the evening before Nashes Corps of the 15th⁵ on parade called out no leather stiffener for our stock, off with the stocks, and the whole continued of such a temper of mind that they did not know what might be the issue of it ultimately.

¹ Colonel Forbes commanding the first Battalion 1st Native Infantry escaped the mutineers and with Lieutenant Ewing, and some other European stragglers and some unarmed sepoys of the 1st, made his way to one of the hill forts where they remained until the mutineers had been dispersed.

² Mustapha Beg, who was afterwards presented with 2,000 pagodas by the Company and pensioned for life on the pay of a Subedar of infantry (*Wilson*, vol iii, p. 188).

³ The First Battalion.

⁴ Second Battalion, 15th Native Infantry.

⁵ The subsidiary force at Hyderabad was commanded at this time by Colonel T. G. Montresor, His Majesty's 22nd Dragoons. The regiments there included the 11th Native Infantry Second Battalion 15th Native Infantry and His Majesty's 33rd regiment, four other Battalions of Native Infantry and two cavalry regiments. For an account of the discontent at Hyderabad see *Wilson*, vol. iii, pp. 194-196; with the revocation of the orders about dress, quiet was restored, though not so early as *Wilson* claims to judge of the letter of the 26th referred to above.

We are no longer to look for the Commander-in-Chief back to Nundydroog ; he writes that it will be impossible for him to return and recommends Lady Theodosia to come down. She accordingly sends off her heavy baggage immediately and follows herself about the 10th via Bangalore.

There are some other movements talked of since I last wrote you. The 2nd of the 1st are now said to be going to Gooty instead of the 23rd & Webber's¹ Corps going to Samulcotta².

Yours my dear Colonel,

Very faithfully,

A. CUPPAGE.

¹ Colonel Henry Webber (?).

² Samulcotta, Godaveri District.

ERRATA IN FIRST ARTICLE, VOL. VI., No. 2.

Page	Line	For	Read
64	4	दवरोजे	देवराजे
64	17	गङ्गादास	गङ्गादास
65	12	called in thirteenth	called in the thirteenth.
66	22	referred to.	referred to,
67	8	his elder brothers.'	his elder brother.'
67 last line.		Nijāgrajū . . . pārijāth.	Nijāgrajā . . . pārijāthaḥ.
69	33	Padeo Rao of Nuniz-	Padeo Rao of Nuniz,
76	10	affairs of Belgaum	affair of Belgaum
76	13	within showing the empire,	within, showing the empire
78	21	(dha) krit	(dh) a krit
93	13	generalissimo	Generalissimo
94 Foot-note		Kāvërim āsu	Kāvërim āsu
95	4	Śārdula	Śārdula'
96	40	Kaundinya-gotra.	Kaundinya-gotra,
97	26	Tulu-raj by	Tulu-rajya by
103	(26)	Pramāḍohi	Pramāḍoḥa

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

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1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, in India and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.
4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretaries, Branch Secretaries, an Editor, and seven other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.

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F. R. SELL,
Honorary Secretary

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Vol. VI.]

[No. 3

Side Lights on the 'Dravidian Problem'

(SOME SUGGESTIONS ON THE STUDY OF SOUTH INDIAN ETHNOLOGY)

BY

F. J. Richards, Esq., I.C.S., M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I.

*(Local Correspondent to the Royal Anthropological Institute for the
Presidency of Madras).*

A Paper read before the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society with
His Excellency Lord Pentland in the Chair.

INTRODUCTION

'THE attempt to find the basic element of Hindu civilization by a study of Sanskrit and history of Sanskrit in Upper India is to begin the problem at its worst and most complicated point. The scientific historian of India ought to begin his study with the basin of the Krishna, of the Cauvery, of the Vaigai, rather than with the Gangetic basin.'

So wrote the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai of Trivandrum, and, I believe, he was right. A variety of causes, partly political and partly literary, has tended to the belittlement of Peninsular India's contribution to the history both of India and of the world at large. The time is ripe for South India to champion her own cause and assert her claims to recognition.

But it is futile to assert claims which are not based on solid foundations, and it requires much hard work to lay a solid foundation.

The Dravidian Problem

Few scientific questions have accumulated such an agglomeration of flimsy and conflicting hypotheses as the so-called 'Dravidian Problem', and there are few subjects on which both scholars and laymen are so thoroughly at variance.

Paucity of Data

Why should this be so? The fault lies mainly, I believe, in the fact that at the present moment South India is almost an unworked field, that only a tiny fraction of the evidence available has been examined, or even unearthed. To generalize hastily on insufficient data is the surest road to ridicule. If students of South Indian ethnology desire to be taken seriously, they must set themselves to the task of 'digging', in both a literal and metaphorical sense, and the work of constructive analysis must be begun afresh. Field work must not yield precedence to the arm-chair.

At the same time I may perhaps be pardoned for suggesting that the academical side of the enquiry has been at fault. Hitherto experts have failed to take a comprehensive view of the data. The Linguist is apt to ignore the evidence of History and Anthropology. The Anthropologist is weak in History. The student of Religion gets absorbed in Philosophy, and the basal facts of rural and domestic ritual are beneath his notice. The

Epigraphist is sceptical as to the value of Literature, and the Measurer of Heads regards the Philologist as a crank. Hence the hypotheses offered for the solution of our problem are widely discrepant, and are likely to continue so, unless and until there is more cordial co-operation between the different groups of scientists within whose province our data fall.

Purpose of this Paper

It is not my intention to suggest any solution of the Dravidian Problem, for I am conscious that, in face of the existing paucity of data, there is no short and easy path to such a goal. The purpose of this paper is merely to indicate possible sources of illumination.

The sources are not all of equal value. Some of them may prove quite valueless. But I submit that they all deserve more careful investigation than they have yet received.

Duality of South Indian Culture

I wish to avoid assumptions and hypotheses, but one assumption I must beg you to take for granted, viz. that the Culture of South India is a blend of two cultures, which we may conveniently call the 'Aryan' and the 'Dravidian', the former immigrant, and the latter (perhaps) indigenous, and that each of these cultures is in itself composite.

Culture in its broad ethnographic sense is 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.'¹

Aryan and Dravidian

The words 'Aryan' and 'Dravidian' are each of them used loosely, being applied sometimes to language, sometimes to race and sometimes to culture. I fear it is impossible to rid ourselves entirely of this looseness of expression, but I hope you will not forget that language, race and culture are by no means coincident, and that it is quite possible for an 'Aryan' by race to speak a 'Dravidian' language, and that his culture may be a blend of both elements.

The term 'Aryan' is particularly dangerous from a scientific point of view, because, whether applied to race, language or culture, it sometimes connotes Indo-European and sometimes Indo-Gangetic. The scope of the term was originally linguistic, and it is an undoubted fact that some three and a half or four or more millenniums ago races speaking languages closely akin to Sanskrit, Zend, and the languages now dominant in Europe, pene-

¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. i, p. 1.

trated the north-western barriers into the Indo-Gangetic plain. It is equally certain that at the time of these so-called 'Aryan Invasions' the Indo-Gangetic plain was not empty, but was populated by peoples who exercised a profound influence on the invaders. I shall, therefore, limit the term 'Aryan', when used alone, to the composite race and culture resulting from the contact of the Indo-European invaders with the peoples they found indigenous to the Indo-Gangetic plain, and to the Indian branches of the Indo-European family of languages. Whenever the *usus loquendi* compels me to use the word in the wider sense as equivalent to Indo-European, I shall prefix it by the epithet 'so-called'. The composite character of Dravidian culture is not yet generally recognised. I hope to make this clearer to you before I close this paper.

Classification of subject-matter

Ethnology may be studied from two points of view, viz.—

- A. in its 'Extensive' or 'Dynamic' Aspect ;
- B. in its 'Intensive' or 'Static' Aspect.

The 'Extensive Study' of Ethnology deals with the general principles by which human culture is moulded. It is impossible to understand an isolated phenomenon of culture, except by comparing it with other phenomena. To understand the cultures of India we must look outside India.

'He knows not India who only India knows.'

I call this aspect 'Dynamic', because it deals with the forces by which human society is controlled.

By 'Intensive' study I mean the detailed investigation of the particular phenomena presented by social units included in the purview of our research ; in other words, the analysis of 'caste customs'. I call this aspect 'Static' because it deals with facts observed rather than with causes.

It is obvious that an 'Extensive' view is a necessary preliminary to 'Intensive' study.

In each division I would group my subject-matter under seven heads as follows:—

A. <i>Extensive</i>	B. <i>Intensive</i>
I. Geography.	I. Caste.
II. History.	II. Polity.
III. Race.	III. Taboo.
IV. Language.	IV. Birth and Childhood.
V. Religion and Magic.	V. Marriage.
VI. Folk-Lore.	VI. Death.
VII. Economics.	VII. Social and Domestic Life.

¹ See Imperial Gazetteer, vol. i., p. 352.

These are the fourteen 'side-lights' which may (or may not) illuminate the 'Dravidian Problem'. Under these fourteen heads a mass of heterogeneous facts has already been collected, though, as I have already stated, the work of collecting data has hardly yet begun. But there is no necessity to postpone critical analysis till the work of collection is completed. These two processes should go on side by side, and the closer they are in touch with each other, the better.

It is the duty of the Ethnologist, in analysing the evidence, to discriminate first the 'Aryan' and 'Dravidian' elements in our data. The Indo-European and Indo-Gangetic constituents of Aryan culture admit of similar analysis. The 'Dravidian' residuum must further be sifted and stratified, and all the facts require careful comparison with the cultural phenomena of other races outside our Indian borders. Only by such analysis and comparison will it be possible to determine the essential from the accidental, the local from the universal, the relevant from the negligible, the differential from the indeterminate. Distribution in time and space cannot be disregarded, and our survey must be at once topographical and stratigraphical. Lastly, the possibility of 'independent origins' must be kept in view, and it is never safe to assume a 'phylogenetic relationship' ¹ between one fact and another in the absence of strong corroborative evidence.

One more caution is necessary in the search for 'Origins.' The tangle into which experts have tied themselves in trying to locate the ancestral home of the original 'Aryans' should warn us against presuming that 'Dravidian culture' is necessarily imported. Modern discoveries seem to indicate that Egyptian civilization arose in Egypt, and Babylonian culture in Babylonia, while it has been proved up to the hilt that Hellenic culture is the lineal descendant of the Minoan civilization of the Aegean Sea. As a matter of fact the Indo-European invaders were on a pretty low grade of civilization when first they set foot on Indian soil, and there is little need to look abroad for the origin of the civilization of the Indo-Gangetic Plain. It would be perfectly proper to say that the civilization of the 'Aryans', in the sense that I use it, is of Indian origin, and it should be quite as reasonable to look for the origins of Dravidian Culture in Peninsular India.

It is obvious that the adequate treatment of any one of these fourteen 'side-lights' would require at least one volume, if not more, and the compre-

¹ I reject the dogma that 'independent origins' are impossible, for it is against probability and evidence. Two or more similar cultural phenomena, derived one from the other, or from a common source, are said to be 'homologous' or 'phylogenetically related', as they have a common pedigree. Two or more similar cultural phenomena of independent origin are described as 'analogous', and their approximation in character is described as 'convergence.' It is best to presume that similar phenomena are 'analogous' unless and until evidence is forthcoming to indicate that they are 'homologous.'

hensive handling of the whole subject would be more than the life's work of a single human brain. I must content myself this evening with a very brief and superficial survey, hinting occasionally at lines of investigation which may possibly prove fruitful.

I. GEOGRAPHY

HISTORY, Culture and the Movements of Mankind, whether in war or peace, are alike governed by geographical conditions. A vivid illustration of this is given in the jungly belt that fringes the Mysore Plateau on the south, south-east and west, a tract which marks the natural border-line between the Tamil-Malayalam and Telugu-Kanarese sections of the Dravidians, and which from the earliest times has been the nursery of Border Chieftaincies, and which is still marked by a chain (which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was continuous) of ancient Palaiyams, founded and thriving in the days when Imperial Power was weak. This belt of jungle has preserved for us most interesting relics of early culture in the jungle tribes which survive in the higher altitudes, and mysterious relics of a higher civilization in such people as the Todas, Badagas and Kotas of the Nilgiris.

The crucial factor in Indian Ethnology, is of course, the barrier of the Vindhyan Mountains, and the Eastern and Western Ghats.

Did Aryan influences percolate to South India by the east or by the west flank of the Vindhyas, or through their heart; and if by more than one of these alternatives, were the movements simultaneous? The importance of this issue is too obvious for comment. Very different types of culture would come from Bengal, from Bombay or from the United Provinces.

This question of ancient routes deserves close study. Does the population move between the Deccan Plateau and the Indo-Gangetic Valley and the East and West Coasts along the same lines to-day as they did 3,000 or 4,000 years ago? Did those lines coincide with the routes chosen by the armies of Malik Kafur or Sivaji? Probably not; for we know that a Roman Trade Route ran from Madura via Dindigul and the Kāvēri to the beryl mines in Coimbatore District, and thence to Bangalore, and we know too that some of the main arteries of communication between Mysore and the plains, which were in full use in the eighteenth century, have since passed into official oblivion. The jungle grows quickly in India.

Commerce

BUT the internal Geography of India is of small moment compared with that of her transmarine and transmontane commerce. Certain areas of the world are blessed with certain products that are wanted elsewhere. Of these

the pepper of Malabar is a sample, and in a sense the History of Europe is the History of the Malabar Pepper Trade. The Trade and the Trade Routes have continued for millenniums, all that changes is the Traders.

Roughly speaking there are but four areas or foci of civilisation in history:—

(1) The Mediterranean area, of which the civilization of West and North Europe is an offshoot.

(2) The Tigris-Euphrates Valley, with offshoots in Persia, Arabia, and Central Asia.

(3) China.

(4) India.

The World's History has turned on the relations existing between these four areas. Nor are India and China as isolated as is popularly supposed. It was little after 1500 B.C. that Queen Hatshepsut of Egypt sent her famous diplomatic and commercial expedition to the land of Punt (either Somali-land or Southern Arabia). Intercourse between India and Babylonia was established at least by 700 B.C. In the third century B.C. India sent envoys to the Greek Monarchs of Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Cyprus and Cyrene. Kanarese passages have been found in a Greek Farce written in an Egyptian papyrus.¹ In the first century A.D. South India was in intimate touch with Rome, as the hoards of Roman Coins testify, and the extent of that trade is described with startling vividness by the author of the *Periplus* (C.A.D. 80). Broach, Cranganore and other ports on the west coast, as well as Korkai in Tinnevely, Trichinopoly, the Northern Circars, and the lower Ganges were known emporia. Pepper, pearls, ivory and precious stones, silks and muslins, spices and spikenard were exchanged for the wines, coral, gold, silver, copper, tin, antimony and realgar that the Romans brought. It is significant that the bulk of this trade was with South India and not with Hindustan. Nor did this oversea commerce collapse with the fall of Rome. In the sixth century Khosru II of Persia sent envoys to Pulikesin II, the then Emperor of the Deccan. In the eight century it was by sea that the Arabs first sought the spoils of India, and the narratives of Alberuni (eleventh century), Marco Polo (thirteenth century), and Vasco de Gama (fifteenth century), prove the wonderful continuity of this Commercial History of the Arabian Sea.

As for the north, India has always been in close touch with the great silk route between China and Europe, to say nothing of the well-worn paths trodden by the armies of Darius, Alexander and the Seleukids. In the wonderful frescoes which Sir A. Stein unearthed in the sand-buried ruins of Miran, near the swamps of the Tarim, the art of India, Greece, Rome and

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 399.

China are blended in a curious medley : and the influence of India on Chinese art has been immense. Nor must it be forgotten that the civilization of Java and Sumatra is saturated with Indian influences.

The pageant of India's Commerce shows that within historic times Peninsular India has been in direct contact with East Africa, Somali-land, Abyssinia, Egypt, Arabia, Babylonia, Indonesia and China, to say nothing of the Makran Coast and the indirect influence of the land routes. The panorama of possible cultural influences is wide.

Climate and Geology

I place the History of India's Commerce under the head of Geography, because it is dependent on various climatic and geographical phenomena which it is the province of Geography to discuss.

The monsoons, for instance, dominate not only the settlements and wanderings of peoples in India itself, but also the influences that have been brought to bear on India from outside. The periodicity of the monsoons was known to the Greeks, and when Vasco de Gama reached Malindi, on the East African Coast, in 1498, he found a pilot ready to guide him to Calicut.

Desiccation has played an important part in Indian Ethnology, though experts are not in concord as to the degree to which natural conditions have altered. It is known, however, that Turkestan, the North-West Frontier, the borderland of Afghanistan and Persia, the Makran Coast, to say nothing of Somali-land and the African seaboard north of Mombasa, were far more habitable two or three millenniums ago than they are now, and that desiccation in these regions is progressive, while, on the other hand, the jungle-choked country between Assam, Burma and China was formerly the seat of comparatively cultured empires.

Another factor, akin to desiccation, is the alteration of coast line with the silt carried by rivers, wind and sea-currents, a process which ruined the ports of Korkai and Kayal in Tinnevely, flourishing respectively in the days of Nero and Marco Polo, and which is still at work in Madras harbour and in the Palar River. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that coast erosion has destroyed many vestiges of antiquity on the Malabar Coast and at the Seven Pagodas.

Lastly, alterations in the relative level of land and sea, which are known factors in the human history of Europe, may quite possibly have transformed the whole sea-board of Southern Asia. If the Dogger Bank were once dry land, and the Thames a tributary of the Rhine, it is not impossible that South India was linked by a continent to Africa and Indonesia, though the evidence does not amount to proof, and the hypothesis of a continent in the Arabian Sea must not be cited too glibly as a solution of the problem of Indo-African affinities.

Flora and Fauna

Nor can the evidence of Flora and Fauna be neglected. It must not be forgotten that the movements of early man would most naturally follow the same directions as the migrations of wild animals and plants. The diffusion of domesticated animals and cultivated plants affords still more pregnant evidence of cultural affinities, though, of course, in some cases the chain of transmission is so long that the evidential value is reduced to a minimum. Tobacco, for instance, or chillies, or the sweet potato, ground-nut, cashew-nut, the guava, the papaw, or 'Sita's fruit' (the custard-apple), have all been introduced from the American continents, but they are evidence of Portuguese influence, and are hardly likely to establish affinities with the American aborigines. Prickly-pear itself is an American product, the cultivation of which in India as a 'special product' was deliberately encouraged by the East India Company towards the end of eighteenth century, in the hope of a lucrative industry in cochineal. Maize, another American product, has revolutionized the food economy of Africa, as the potato has that of Ireland, but neither have affected India much. The betel-vine, on the other hand, is traced to Java, and its distribution is evidence of affinities that are fairly close. Wheat and barley are primarily Indo-European cereals, but rice, so vital a factor in Indian economy, is unknown to the Rig-Veda, though it was known to the Greeks in the fifth century B.C. Humped cattle are domesticated throughout Southern Asia and Tropical Africa, but the *Bos indicus* is quite distinct from the cattle of Europe, and its origin is unknown: no similar animal exists or is known to have existed in a wild state. The native home of the buffalo is India, though it has been domesticated from time immemorial in Egypt. It was, of course, unknown to 'Aryan' (i.e. Indo-European) culture. The horse on the contrary was an animal of high importance among the so-called 'Aryans', but, though acclimatised in North India and the North Deccan, it has always been a delicate exotic in the south, and the prosperity of Portuguese Goa was founded on the import of horses from Persia and Arabia to supply the armies of Vijayanagar and the Dakkani Sultanates. It is significant that the tiger, so typical of India, is never mentioned in the Rig-Veda, and the elephant only twice.

II. HISTORY

HISTORY I use in its original and wide sense of 'Investigation;' investigation, that is, of the sequence of human events. Nor can we afford to restrict it to periods the chronology of which is known, for by doing so we should exclude from our purview the bulk of Sanskrit and Tamil Literature, and a wealth of facts which Archæology has revealed.

The established sequence of prehistoric human history is

- (1) Palæolithic or Early Stone Age;

- (2) Neolithic or Late Stone Age ;
- (3) Bronze Age, preceded by a transitional culture in which pure copper was used ;
- (4) Early Iron Age.

The Palæolithic period is divided in Europe into an earlier and a later phase. The remarkable feature of the sequence in South India is that the later Palæolithic and the Bronze Age periods are blank.

On the other hand, the art of the early Palæolithic periods, named after Chelles and St. Acheul in France, extends as an almost continuous belt from Spain, along the North African coastline, up the Nile valley, and into Somali-land. A similar culture is found in the Zambesi valley, and in Chingleput District and the districts adjoining. The culture undoubtedly began with the working of flints, but in Somali-land and India flint cannot be had, and the material chosen is quartzite.

There is every reason to suppose that this early Palæolithic culture is continuous, though the step from Somali-land to the Madras Presidency is a long one. Perhaps the little known tracts of South Arabia and the Makran coast will supply intermediate links.

The origin of Neolithic culture is wrapped in obscurity. In South India the material chosen is entirely different from that of the Palæolithic Age, viz. diorite and other basic igneous rocks akin to basalt. Quartzite is left severely alone, except for grind-stones and mullers. The types of implements, and methods of manufacture, are very different from those of the quartzite period.

There is no indication of any continuity of culture between the early Palæolithic and the Neolithic, and it is quite possible that the Palæolithic races of South Africa and South India died out before the advent of Neolithic man in those areas. On the other hand, the Neolithic culture of South India bears a striking resemblance to that of Europe. It is unfortunate that no evidence of value exists as to the anatomical characters of Palæolithic or Neolithic man in India, and it is impossible to say whether any racial element of either period underlies South Indian Ethnology.

The transition from Neolithic Culture to the Bronze Age in Europe is continuous, but the origin of the use of iron for the manufacture of weapons and domestic utensils is one of the greatest puzzles of Archæology. Apart from the possibility of independent origin, the evidence seems to point to the Negro Races of Central Africa as the original inventors of the blacksmith's art. In India the transition from Neolithic Culture to that of iron appears to be continuous. The evidence of Archæology does not support the theory that the so-called 'Aryans' (i.e., Indo-Europeans), at the time they spread over Europe and India, were workers in iron. On the contrary, they are usually identified with the Bronze Culture. Copper implements have been

found in the Gangetic Valley, in Central India, and their types are so closely analogous to pre-bronze-age copper Celts of Ireland, that their Indo-European pedigree is probable. But in South India the manufacture of iron and steel, which is the special art of Pariahs, is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity, and presumably of pre-Aryan origin. Was this art derived from Africa, or was it an independent invention of the Dravidians or pre-Dravidians? The riddle can only be solved by a much more detailed examination of the Archæological evidence than it has yet received.

Another apparent link with the Mediterranean area is the existence of prehistoric dolmen-graves all over Peninsular India (especially the 'holed-dolmen'). The Megalithic Art of Europe, North Africa and Syria traces its beginnings to the late Neolithic period, and was probably the parent of the tomb Architecture of Egypt. Whether there is any evidence to corroborate the apparent relationship of Indian and Mediterranean dolmens I cannot say. The key to the prehistoric chronology of the Mediterranean area lies in the fluctuations of the potter's art, but the correlations of the pre-historic pottery of South India are not yet established. Even the wonderful finds at Adittanallur (in Tinnevely District), associated as they are with prognathic skulls, remain undated.

Passing to dated History, our evidence at first is tantalizingly incomplete. We know for certain that in the third century B.C., the Chola, Chera and Pandya Kingdoms were in diplomatic relationship with Asoka, but it is still an open question whether the Bellary boundary of Mysore State, near which were engraved three Asoka inscriptions, belonged then to Asoka's dominions, or to any of the South Indian Kingdoms, or was No-man's land.

Again, in the first century A.D. we know, from hoards of contemporary Roman coins as well as from Literature, that South India was in close commercial contact with the Mediterranean. But in spite of the wealth of Tamil Literature which almost certainly dates back to that period, no specific synchronisms have been yet obtained.

When next the curtain rises, the Pallavas are fully established, and are before long fighting for their existence with the Chalukyas. Who the Pallavas were no one can say. The suggestion that they were Parthians (Pahlavas) and that the Chalukyas were 'Seleukids,' and that the two races were perpetuating the ancient feud between the Seleukid Empire and the Arsakids, seems too plausible to be true.

The Pallava-Chalukya Wars of the seventh century were the prototype of the perpetual struggles between the Deccan Plateau and the Coromandel Coast, which lasted, with interludes of Muhammadan and Maratha cataclysm, till the fall of Seringapatam in 1799.

I need not here recount the details of this kaleidoscopic history of the 'Unchanging East', the ebb and swirl of nations which carried the Kanarese

to Tinnevely, the Telugus to Ceylon, and the Tamil Cholas to the borders of Bengal, but a passing reference is necessary, before I leave the subject, to a few subsidiary aspects of history.

Literature

Literature is the hand-maid of history, a rather unruly hand-maid, who is always trying to 'boss' her mistress. In spite of the inveterate habit, characteristic of the literary mind, of sacrificing fact to fiction, the value of literary evidence cannot be ignored. In spite of the dearth of historical synchronisms, wonderful work has been done by Sanskrit scholars in stratifying Sanskrit literature on the basis of internal evidence, and Mr. Pargiter has almost achieved the impossible in establishing a provisional chronology for the Dynasties of the Puranas. The late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai has done excellent pioneer work for Tamil Literature, and his work has been ably supplemented by Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar and others. But much remains to be done before the evidential bearing of Dravidian Literature on the 'Dravidian Problem' is fully recognized.

Fine Arts

The 'Fine Arts' of South India have unfortunately been made the subject of polemics by Mr. Havell and other writers. They have an important bearing on history, especially the art of architecture. The resemblance between the Dravidian *Gōpuram* and the pylons of Egyptian temples has led to the conjecture that the one is derived from the other. Unfortunately they are separated by an awkward chronological gap too large for a scientific mind to leap over. Similarly the Dravidian *Vimānam* has been traced to the Babylonian 'Ziggurat', and attempts have been made to link the architectural monuments of Mexico and Yucatan with India, via the Pacific Islands and Indonesia. The careful researches, however, of a recent French scholar (Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archeologie du Sud de l'Inde*) go to show that no foreign element has ever been introduced into Dravidian Architecture, there is no break in continuity and no intrusion of style.

Art of War

Lastly the Art of War requires to be studied hand in hand with history. The War Chariot is as familiar to Vedic armies as it was to the Britons of Julius Cæsar's age. It survived in the east long after it became obsolete in the Mediterranean area. The 'composite-bow' (a far more efficient weapon than the long-bow or cross-bow of Europe) links up India with the rest of Asia. The 'pellet-bow,' now a toy for frightening monkeys from our avenues and topes, has an equally significant geographical distribution. The

boomerang of the Kallar country is cited, suggestively but inconclusively, as a witness of racial affinities between South India and Australia. The comparative study of other Indian weapons of offence and defence is yet in its infancy, though the evidence of sculpture and primitive survivals is abundant.

III. RACE

THE only workable classification of the human race that I am aware of is that of Flower, viz.—

- I. Negroid or Ethiopian with frizzly hair,
- II. Mongolian or Xanthous with coarse straight hair;
- III. Caucasian; with hair that is either straight or wavy.

Of the latter there are two sub-types.

- A. Xanthochroi or fair skinned.
- B. Melanochroi or dark skinned.

The Dravidian, as we know him, would come under the last category.

Leaving out of account the Andamanese and 'Turko-Iranian' types, Risley discovers four elements in Indian races, viz. (1) Aryan, (2) Mongolian, (3) Scythian and (4) Dravidian. The Aryan and Mongolian types exist pure, and are also mingled with the Dravidian. The Scythian exists only in combination with the Dravidian. Peninsular India is divided between the Dravidians and the Scytho-Dravidians. The former extend from the foothills immediately south of the Ganges and Jumna to Cape Comorin, the latter from the lower reaches of the Indus to a point a little south of Mahe. The dividing line runs north and south from Indore to Mysore.

The data on which Risley bases his scheme are—

- (1) The Cephalic Index, i.e. the percentage which the maximum breadth of the skull bears to the maximum length.
- (2) The Nasal Index, i.e. the percentage of the length of the nose to its width.
- (3) Stature.

The Scytho-Dravidian has a 'broad' head, medium stature and 'moderately fine' nose. The Dravidian has a 'long' head, short stature and 'very broad' nose. The Dravidian element in the Scytho-Dravidian is not apparent.

There is an unfortunate haziness as to what exactly are the characteristics of the Dravidian type. The existence of a race of Negritos in the Andamans has caused some scientists to jump to the conclusion that Dravidians ought to have a substratum of negroid blood in their veins. Haeckel on the other hand, has described the typical Dravidian nose as 'long and narrow'. Taylor (*Origin of Aryans*) describes the Dravidians as brachycephalic. Risley,

on Dr. Thurston's data, cites the Paniyan (Malabar) and the Santal of Chota Nagpur as typical Dravidians, and figures a Sholaga (Nilgiris) and Kādir (Anaimalais), a couple of Mundas and a couple of Orāons.

I have not had the good fortune to see a Santāl or Orāon, but I doubt very much whether their type of face as depicted by Risley can be fairly identified with the Sholaga or Kādir type. Risley contends that the physical type of the Munda speaking peoples and the Tamils is identical. I note that this statement is disputed.¹

The point is important; it not only casts suspicion on the trustworthiness of Risley's criteria, it raises a doubt whether the so-called 'Aryo-Dravidians' of the United Provinces, and the 'Mongolo-Dravidians' of Bengal have any Dravidian element in them at all; in other words, whether the Dravidians ever existed in the Indo-Gangetic plain and the hills that bound it on the south.

On the other hand, it must be noted that Risley's 'typical Dravidian' of South India is in no way typical of the great mass of the population of South India, but is confined to a few jungle tribes living in peculiar isolation. A 'type' should be normal and not extreme, but Risley makes no allowance for the leavening of the masses of the population of this Presidency with any non-'Dravidian' element.

We can, therefore, only accept the anthropometric data as they stand with reservations. There are other reasons, too, for suspending judgment.

For instance, as Sergi has pointed out, the cephalic index conveys no idea of the shape of the head apart from its simple length and breadth, and heads of very different shape may have the same index.

Moreover, the index itself does not differentiate between a large head and a small head, as absolute measurements of length and breadth are usually left out of account. Thus the Andamanese and Bavarians are both brachycephalic, but it would hardly do to place them in the same class.

Again, we do not yet know to what extent anthropometric criteria are influenced by environment, which quite conceivably may override heredity. The colour of the skin is certainly susceptible to environment, and stature is apt to be stunted by mal-nutrition and a hard life. I believe the English gentleman of to-day is a taller and larger animal than his crusading ancestors, and I have heard of nomad tribes who have added a good many centimetres to their stature by taking to an agricultural life. It is an open question whether the breadth of the nostrils is not a matter of climatic conditions, and on the American continents variations in nasal indices show a remarkable correlation with the degrees of latitude north and south of the Equator in which they occur.

¹ Gait, *C.R.*, p. 382.

Far be it from me to rule out anthropometric evidence as worthless, though it should never be accepted as final unless it can be corroborated by other evidence, and it is significant that experts are still divided as to whether the Aryans, i.e., Indo-Europeans, were long-headed or short-headed. My contention is that what evidence we have is insufficient, and more must be got. I see no particular reason why measurements should not be taken of all who enter Government service, of all convicts, and of all who are treated in our hospitals. It would cost practically nothing. Dr. Thurston's data (in vol. i, pages lxi to lxxiii of his *Castes and Tribes*) are defective, because he has not carefully recorded the localities and the endogamous groups to which his subjects belonged. Both these points are of supreme importance. Then again, the number of subjects measured, especially in some of the larger communities, is nothing like enough. I would suggest, too, that a few more criteria be added, e.g. the facial angle, the length of upper arm and forearm, etc.

There is work to be done. Dr. Haddon suggests that the broad-headed element described as 'Scytho-Dravidian' is really Alpine. Sir G. Grierson suggests that the Brahuis of Baluchistan are the original Dravidian type, and not the inhabitants of South India at all. Mr. H. R. Hall suggests that the Sumerians of Babylonia, who perfected their civilization before the arrival of the Semites, were Dravidians. M. Louis Lapicque would trace the features of the jungle tribes of the Nilgiris and Anaimalais to a pre-Dravidian Negro element. Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar traces four racial strata in South India, (1) Negritos, (2) a mixed smooth-haired race whom we call Nāgas, akin to the Veddas of Ceylon and the Australians, (3) the Dravidians, whom he thinks came from Asia Minor, and (4) the Aryans. It would be premature to express an opinion on any of these hypotheses. The evidence is too scanty. In any case it is certain that the population of the plains of South India is composite, and that the preponderating element is not that described by Risley as the 'Dravidian type'. The puzzle awaits solution.

IV. LANGUAGE

THE subject of language need not detain us long. The classic work of Bishop Caldwell I must take as read, with the remark that his fascinating suggestions of affinities, Semitic, Scythian (i.e. Ural-Altaic), Indo-European, Australian, African, establish no genetic relationships, for 'no connexion has yet been proved between the Dravidian languages and those of any other family.'¹

The Dravidian languages are certainly not derived from Sanskrit, and the process of Sanskritisation can be traced as a progressive saturation of the

¹ Gait, *C.R.*, p. 325.

classical dialects of early Dravidian Literature ; the older the Literature the freer it is from Sanskrit forms. The record of Greek traders shows that the Dravidian languages have 'remained almost unaltered for the last two thousand years.'¹ But the evidence carries us back much farther than this, for peacocks were known to Solomon by a Tamil name. Caldwell maintains that South India was affected by Brahmanic influence before the Christian Era (page 115). He defines (page 83) three periods of Sanskritisation ; the middle of these periods coincides with the predominance of Jain influences (though at a far earlier period than that which he assigns), and the earliest points to a preliterate oral intercourse, to which he ascribes certain remarkable corruptions of Sanskrit words (notably the names of months), which appear to defy all the rules of Tamil Euphony.

On the other hand, the 'Aryan' languages of India contain elements, (especially phonetic elements) which are absent in the non-Indian Indo-European languages, and it was presumed at one time that these elements were derived from the 'Dravidian' aborigines of Northern India ; but Caldwell refused to admit that the non-Aryan elements in the northern vernaculars are distinctively Dravidian, and his judgment has been remarkably confirmed by more recent investigations into the affinities of the Munda languages.

These Munda languages are spoken by Santāls, Kols and other races of Chota-Nagpur and the Vindhyan Barrier, and also by the Savaras and Gadabas of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Hills. These Munda languages used to be called 'Kolarian', and were thought to be a branch of the Dravidian family ; but it is now agreed that the Munda languages are affiliated to the Mōn-Khmēr languages of Burma and Assam, of Annam and Cambodia, forming the Austro-Asiatic sub-family of a great group of languages (the Austric) which extends from Easter Island, off the coast of South America, to Madagascar, and from New Zealand to the Punjab. Meanwhile, the Dravidian languages remain in 'splendid isolation,' and no convincing explanation has been offered of the curious fact that the Brahuīs of Baluchistan, who belong to a racial stock entirely different from any of the races of the Dravidian country, speak a language which unquestionably belongs to the Dravidian family.

Alphabets

The evidence of language cannot be dissociated from the evidence of alphabets, for the art of writing has unquestionably exercised a tremendous influence on the vitality and permanence of language. In countries such as North America and Africa, where writing is virtually unknown, the diversity

¹ Caldwell, p. 108.

PLATE I



Fig. 1. "Rock-bruising," Peacock Hill, near Bellary.

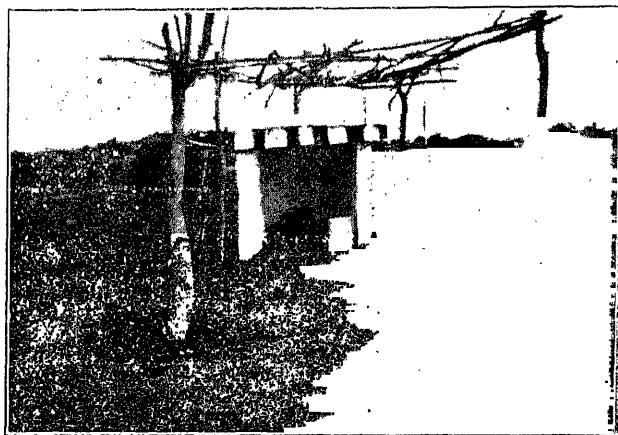


Fig. 2. Gaugaroma Shrine, near Kuppam, Kangundi Palaiyam.

(Conical stones with silver eyes attached.)

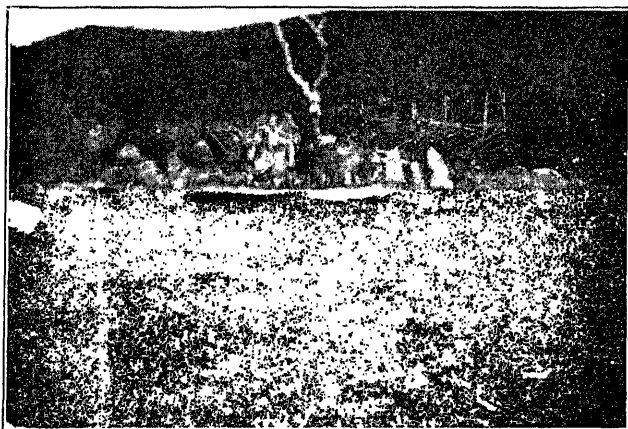


Fig. 3. Figure of Vignesvara, with neolithic implements, worshipped by Pachai-kutti Malaiyalis, Tagarakuppam, Javadi Hills, Tiruppattur Taluk, N. Arcot District.

of language presents an astonishing contrast to the relatively few families in Europe and Asia.

The art of writing began with pictures, such as the prehistoric rock-bruising of Peacock Hill near Bellary,¹ which may yet be proved to have some connexion with the wonderful prehistoric pictographs of the Mediterranean basin. Picture writing developed in two ways :—

- a. Syllabaries, where each symbol represents a syllable, as in Egyptian, Assyrian and Chinese ;
- b. Alphabets ; where each symbol represents a single sound.

The alphabet appears to have been invented by the Phœnicians, though Sir Arthur Evans would trace it back to the painted pebbles of the early Neolithic Mediterranean. The Indo-European invaders of India were illiterate. Indian alphabets are traceable to two prototypes :—(1) Kharoshthī and (2) Brāhmī.

Kharoshthī was confined to the North-West of India and Chinese Turkestan. It was derived from Aramaic, the official script of the Achemenid Persians, who invaded India in the sixth century B.C. It always remained a local language, and disappeared from India by the third century A.D. Brāhmī, on the other hand, was the parent not only of Devanāgarī, from which Sanskrit and the modern scripts of North India are derived, but also of the South Indian scripts from which Malayalam, Grantha, Kanarese, Telugu, Javanese are derived. It is still disputed whether Brāhmī is to be traced to a Northern Semitic script, as represented by the Moabite Stone (C. 900—850 B.C.), or to an Sabeian (Sheba) script of Southern Arabia, which in turn was derived from early Phœnician. Surely the visit of the Queen of Sheba to the Court of Solomon presupposes commercial and diplomatic correspondence.

But none of these theories explains how the Tamils came to develop an alphabet of their own, independently of all Aryan influence. The modern Tamil alphabet is a blend of two alphabets, viz., (1) the Grantha already referred to as descended from Brāhmī, and (2) an older alphabet called Vatteḷuttu the origin of which still remains an unsolved mystery. In the eighth century, A.D., these two alphabets existed side by side. The Tamil alphabet is a Brahmanic adaptation of the Grantha letters corresponding to the old Vatteḷuttu from which the last four signs (𑌦, 𑌧, 𑌨 and 𑌩) have been retained, the Grantha having no equivalents. The Sanskrit alphabetic system is perhaps the most complete and scientific yet invented, a pleasing contrast to the defective and redundant Roman alphabet to the use of which most of Europe has been condemned. The Telugu and Kanarese alphabets have been modelled on the Sanskrit system, and compared with them Tamil is markedly defective ; not only is it a very imperfect representation of the sounds to be met in Tamil, but it has not been adapted from any Sanskrit prototype. Vatteḷuttu must have been formed and settled before the influence of Sanskrit

¹ Plate I, Fig. 1.

Grammarians began to be felt in South India, and it seems certain that Brāhmī and Vatteluttu are 'independent adaptations of some foreign character', the former to a Sanskritic and the latter to a Dravidian language. Some would hold Vatteluttu to be autochthonous, others would trace it to Asia Minor. A Semitic origin for Vatteluttu seems probable; but at present it would be unsafe to say more than this.

V. RELIGION AND MAGIC

THERE is hardly a phase or feature of human religion of which India cannot afford examples. To the student of this vast subject India is an unrivalled storehouse of treasures. I can but allude to a few of its aspects.

Religion and magic are usually treated together, because they are sometimes closely intertwined. Both terms are slippery, and I shall not attempt to define them. Anthropologists try to get over the difficulty by using the clumsy term 'magico-religious'. Ordinarily speaking 'Religion' connotes 'orthodox', 'communal', or 'social' ritual and belief; while 'Magic' is 'anti-social', 'individualistic' and 'heterodox.'

I would suggest that the subject might be treated in its extensive and intensive aspects. The extensive view will deal with the general principles of (A) Belief and (B) Practice, reserving the detailed survey of Cults, Festivals and Holy Places for intensive treatment.

I. EXTENSIVE ASPECT

A. *Belief*

The much abused word 'Animism' is defined by Sir E. B. Tylor as 'the belief in spiritual beings', a term which includes 'soul', 'ghost' and 'spirit'.

By 'soul' I mean the 'separable personality of a living man or other being'.

The term 'ghost' I limit to the same thing after death.

A 'spirit' is a soul-like being that has never been associated with a human or spiritual body.

All three are 'essentially of the same type, representing a personality independent of a body, though usually possessing an apparitional form of its own', such as a dream-image or a shadow.¹

'Animism' as thus defined must not be confused with the attribution of life and personality to things as distinct from a separate or apparitional soul, a belief for which the word 'Animatism' has been invented.

Now Animism as above defined is at the bottom of a multitude of religious beliefs; it explains belief in the malevolent dead, the sainted dead, ancestors and heroes, the godlings of disease, demons and demoniacal possession; the worship of animals, trees and inanimate objects, of mount-

¹ *Handbook of Folk-Lore*, p. 298.

ains, streams and springs, of natural phenomena, of the productive principle of vegetation; witchcraft and sorcery and many prophylactics against the Evil Eye are only explicable on an animistic basis; and doctrines, such as those of life after death, or the transmigration of souls, follow from it naturally.

But animism does not explain the 'pre-animistic' stage of belief in an impersonal force or power, which exists concurrently with more specialised beliefs. Nor does it explain the belief in 'High Gods', or an 'All Father', which exists even among some of the most backward races of mankind. The interaction of monotheistic, henotheistic, polytheistic and pantheistic tendencies on the animistic substratum belongs, however, to the intensive side of the enquiry.

B. Practice

Religious practice covers a great variety of subjects, such as ritual, sacrifice, spell and prayer, omens and divination, and, on the magical side, witchcraft, sorcery and the Evil Eye.

Two aspects only shall I touch on, viz. (1) sacrifice and (2) idol worship.

(1) There are two main types of sacrifice, (a) sacramental and (b) propitiatory. In sacramental sacrifice the idea seems to be that the supernatural energy of the deity is mysteriously embodied in the victim, (a sneeze or shiver is the usual sign), and the priest and worshippers absorb this energy in partaking of the flesh or blood of the victim.

In propitiatory sacrifice the good will of the deity is won by the offering, which may be regarded as a gift, as a token of homage, or as an act of self-abnegation, on the part of the worshipper.

In India the sacramental idea seems to predominate. Blood-sacrifice, however, became abhorrent to Aryan thought in post-Vedic times, and Brahmanic worship, influenced no doubt by Buddhist and Jain insistence in the sanctity of animal life, has eschewed the blood sacrifice (with a few rare and startling exceptions), and substituted bloodless offerings, though preserving (e.g. in the *Yāga-sālāi* and *Bali-pītam* of Brahmanic temples), a number of ritualistic forms which are undoubtedly inherited from a period of less refinement. The Dravidians, on the other hand, have retained blood-sacrifice, except in a few communities where Aryan influences predominate. The veto on blood-sacrifice is a simple and useful criterion of Aryan influence.

(2) As regards the Worship of Idols, the Cults of South India present a striking and instructive dualism. There is every reason to believe that the worship of images in human shape became general only after Greek influences began to be felt. In this respect Buddhism had an extraordinary history, beginning as it did as a frank atheism, and developing, in the course of a millennium, into an exuberance of iconic forms unsurpassed even by modern

Hinduism. The material form of deity in South India was, undoubtedly, at first aniconic; usually a conical stone of the type familiar to-day in every village shrine as the *Mūla-Vigraha*. It is only on festival occasion that the anthropomorphic representation of the deity is used, the familiar *Utsava-Vigraha* of ceremonial processions. It is interesting to note that orthodox Siva worship presents the same dualism; the fixed *Lingam* of the 'Holy of Holies' is aniconic, and it is only for public processional purposes that the iconic representation is brought out. (Cf. Plate I, Figs. 2 and 3.)

II. INTENSIVE ASPECT

A. Survey of Cults

An historical survey of the religions of India presents an almost complete compendium of the religions of mankind. There were Jews and Christians in India when Britons were naked savages. The Zoroastrian element did not begin with the immigration of the Parsis, but, if Dr. Spooner's conclusions be accepted, the civilization and pedigree of the Mauryan Asoka were Persian. India contains more Muhammadans than any other country in the world, and the evolution of Modern Pantheistic Hinduism from the Nature Worship of the Vedas, with its two transient but fruitful episodes of Buddhism and Jainism, is unique.

The Pantheon of the Rig-Veda and that of Modern Hinduism are so utterly different that it would be impossible to believe that they have any connexion, were it not that the history of the transformation of the one into the other is known from Sanskrit Literature to be continuous.

The Vedic Pantheon has, I believe, only three representatives among the High Gods of Greece and Rome, viz., Dyaus-pitar (Zeus-Dies-piter), Varuna (Uranus) and Ushas (Eos). It is astonishing therefore to learn that the gods of a people who appear in the fifteenth century B.C. in Upper Mesopotamia, viz., the Mitanni, whose state language was not Aryan, worshipped gods with 'Aryan' names (Indra, Varuna, Mithra, etc.)

The gods which the Aryans brought with them into India soon lost their vitality in the Indo-Gangetic Plain, and their place was taken by the gods of the people they conquered. The percentage of the religion of the Rig-Veda which survives in the Hinduism of to-day is infinitesimally small. Modern Hinduism, in short, might be described as a systematised blend of an immense variety of cults and creeds, most of them indigenous to India. Both Saivism and Vaishnavism are complex in origin, and, curiously enough, though both stand for Aryan as against Dravidian influence, each has ripened in Peninsular India. The unifying influence of Brahmanic Philosophy and Sanskrit Literature has given 'Hinduism' a cohesion and solidarity which, in view of its diversity of origins, seems almost incomprehensible.

But the orthodox cults connected with Siva and Vishnu represent the religion of a relatively small proportion of the population of South India. 'Hinduism' is but a thin veneer on the religion of the masses, and beneath it lies a complex substratum of cults, the dominant element in which is something utterly un-Aryan. I refer to the cults of the Mother Goddesses.

I am aware that it is usual to explain these Mother Goddesses as aspects of Siva's consort Kāli, the truculent aspect of the comparatively gentle Pārvati. But the theory does not fit the facts. The Mother Goddesses of South India (and every village has several cults) are quite independent of any consorts, and their bloody ritual is altogether incompatible with anything Brahmanic. Moreover, hook-swinging, which is most certainly a survival of human sacrifice of the Khond Meriah type is intimately connected with these cults, as also is the sacrifice of the buffalo. It is true that belief in Earth and Sky as two deities from whose union all creation sprang is familiar enough among many of our jungle tribes; but, though the Mother Goddesses of our villages have much in common with the Earth Goddess, and though their varied manifestations have been standardised into seven types (the 'Seven Mothers,' analogous to the little understood cult of the 'Seven Maidens'), yet I cannot resist the inference that these consort-less 'Mothers' have some direct relationship with Cybele, the 'Great Mother of the Gods' whose cult was in classical times centred in Asia Minor, but whose worship probably extended throughout the Mediterranean Area.¹

B. Festivals, etc.

The Festivals in India cannot be considered apart from the Calendar, and the history of Indian Astronomy is one of the most remarkable romances of human history. The Vedic Year was solar.² The twenty-eight divisions of the moon's orbit is ascribed to Chaldaea.³ But it is generally admitted that the greatest advance of Indian Astronomy was stimulated by Greek influence. India improved upon the methods of her teachers, and it was from Indian sources that the Arabs derived their science, which in turn gave birth to the astronomy of modern Europe. Many of the technical terms of Arabian astronomy are derived from Greek through Sanskrit.

The co-existence of the Lunar and Solar Year in South India is full of significance, especially as the Tamils, whose year is solar, determine the dates of all their festivals (except, I believe, Pongal) by the Lunar Calendar. There is reason for this, but, so far as I know, it has not yet been unravelled.

¹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v. Great Mother of the Gods.

² *Weber*, p. 246.

³ *Maedonell*, p. 423

It was a matter of no small astonishment to me when I first came to India to realise that the days of the Week are named after the same planets in South India as in Western Europe. The clumsy Roman eight-day week was officially replaced by Constantine in 321 A.D. by the seven-day week, and the system appears to have come to India a little before A.D. 400.¹ The order of the 'planets' is Greek, viz. (1) Saturn, (2) Jupiter, (3) Mars, (4) Sun, (5) Venus, (6) Mercury, (7) Moon. Each 'planet' in turn was lord of an hour of the day, and the planet which was lord of the first hour of a day (6-7 A.M.) was regarded as lord of the whole day. Though the system is not ancient, it is extremely interesting.

I regret space forbids any detailed reference to other features of the Indian Calendar, such as the *Yuga* system, the Jovian Cycle of sixty years, the division of the day into sixty *ghatikas*; but enough has been said to indicate that the subject is of interest and important.

As for the festivals themselves, and their relationship to the great centres of pilgrimage, I must content myself by pointing out that festivals and pilgrimages have exercised a most potent influence in consolidating and unifying Aryanism throughout India, in spite of the fact that their origin is often to be traced to non-Aryan sources. The fact that the Holi Festival of North India coincides with the Kāman Festival of the South, both in character Saturnalian and abhorrent to Brahmanic principles, but both utterly different in tradition, is probably due to ethnological causes, while the Fire-Walking Festival of the Five Pāndavas, which is non-Brahmanic and associated usually with the Vanniyan (Palli) community, is probably genetically related to the cult of the Panch-Pir of the North² a cult which, in different places, honours Rajput heroes, Mussalman saints, Hindu gods and aboriginal deities. The persistence of a cult in spite of religious vicissitudes is vividly illustrated by Sir Aurel Stein's discovery that the Buddhist shrines described by Hiuen Tsiang in Eastern Turkestan in the seventh century A.D. have since become the tombs of Muhammadan saints.

VI. FOLK-LORE

THE term 'Folk-Lore' includes—

- I. Belief and practice.
- II. Customs.
- III. Stories, Songs and Sayings.

Belief I have dealt with under the head of religion. Custom I reserve for the intensive side of our research. I shall, therefore, restrict the

¹ J. F. Fleet, in J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 1039.

² Crooke, I, p. 206.

term Folk-Lore to

(A) Stories, (B) Songs and (C) Sayings.

(A) STORIES.

Stories are of two kinds.

I. Stories told as true, including

(1) Myths and

(2) Legends.

II. Stories told for amusement, i.e. Folk-Tales or *Märchen*.

(1) Myth is a term reserved for aetiological stories, i.e. stories told to explain something, the creation of the universe, it may be, the origin of life and death, the discovery of the use of fire or of metals, the invention of useful arts, such as weaving, pottery, a sacred rite or an ancestral custom, or the name of a person or a place.

(2) Legends are narratives which do not seek to explain anything, but simply record events, such as the exploits of Odysseus or Rama, or some other traditional hero, with a substratum of historic fact.¹

Max Müller's philological theory of mythical interpretation as a 'disease of language', due to forgetfulness and misinterpretation of the meaning of words, was long ago exploded by Andrew Lang. Herbert Spencer's Euhemerism, which sought to explain all Myths as degraded historical truth, can be accepted in only a very few instances. The 'Meteorological School', which seeks to account for the stories of gods and heroes (and of historical personages too) as sun myths, cloud myths, and other natural phenomena, is taken seriously nowadays by no one; the effort to explain everything by allegory has broken down. It was the fashion among mythologists 'to compare only the myths of races which speak languages of the same family, and of races which have in historic times been actually in proved contact with each other.'² On the other hand the evidence of Anthropology has proved that the themes which make up the Myths and Legends and Folk-Tales of the Indo-European peoples are of world-wide distribution; when a tale familiar to Greeks, Celts, Russians, Italians is found also in Madagascar, North America, Samoa and among the Finns, and scattered incidents in it are known to Zulus, Bushmen, Japanese, Eskimo, and the Samoyeds of Siberia, it is impossible to explain its diffusion on any basis of race or language.³ Lang argues 'Myth is the product of the early human fancy working on the most rudimentary knowledge of the outer world', and he ascribes the irrational element in Myth to 'the survival of a condition of thought which was once common, if not universal'.⁴ Hence similarity of theme may be traced

¹ Sagas and Hero Tales.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

² Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 22.

⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v. Mythology.

to similar conditions of thought and not necessarily to identity of race or borrowing. It is clear therefore that Myths, Legends and Folk-Tales furnish more valuable evidence of early custom than they do of culture contact.

As for the former, a few instances must suffice.

The frequency with which the hero inherits the kingdom by virtue of marriage with the King's daughter appears reminiscent of an age of matrilineal succession.

The marriage of the Five Pandava Brothers to one common wife Draupadi is certainly a survival from polyandrous society.

A marriage between father and daughter would not violate the laws of an exogamous people recognising only matrilineal descent, and such a marriage is contemplated in stories of the 'Catskin' type (No. 7 of the list in *Handbook of Folk-Lore*) of which Pandit Natesa Sastri's tale of the 'Four Good Sisters' is an example.

Psyche lost her lover Eros, because she saw his face. Urvashi was taken from Pururavas because he let her see him unclad. In the story of Melusina it is the bride that must never be seen undraped. Lang suggests that all these stories point to some traditional Aryan law of nuptial etiquette, the violation of which involves supernatural punishment.

Examples of survival in story of an earlier culture (such as the horror of iron, which dates from the Bronze Age, the transformation of men into animals and vice versa), could readily be multiplied, but enough has been said to indicate in what direction research should lie.

But though the 'Stories' are valuable primarily as evidence of custom and belief, it must not be forgotten that peoples who will not adopt each other's customs may adopt each other's tales, and that tales, unlike customs, can be diffused through the medium of Literature. As a branch of Literature the Folk-Tale, especially in the form of Beast Stories, seems to have had its original home in India. The Pancha-Tantra (on which, by the way, the Hitopadēsa was based) was translated into the Persian Court language in the sixth century A.D.¹ and passed thence into Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Old Spanish and Latin, and by the fifteenth century it was printed in Europe. Its fables are traceable to the Buddhist Jātakas (birth stories), which existed as a collection as early as 380 B.C. But the pedigree goes back farther still, for these fables were known to the Greeks through Æsop, who appears to have lived in the sixth century B.C.²

I have wandered rather far, I fear, from the Dravidian Problem, but it is important that the part played by Literature in disseminating Folk-Lore should be understood. Many of Homer's stories are represented in Sanskrit

¹ Macdonell, pp. 219 and 417.

² Hdt., II, 134.

PLATE II



Fig. 1. Ant-hill worshipped as theophany of Ankalamman, Padavedu, Polur Taluk, N. Arcot District.



Fig. 2. Ant-hill worshipped as theophany of Pattalamman, Virudampattu, Gudiyattam Taluk, N. Arcot District.

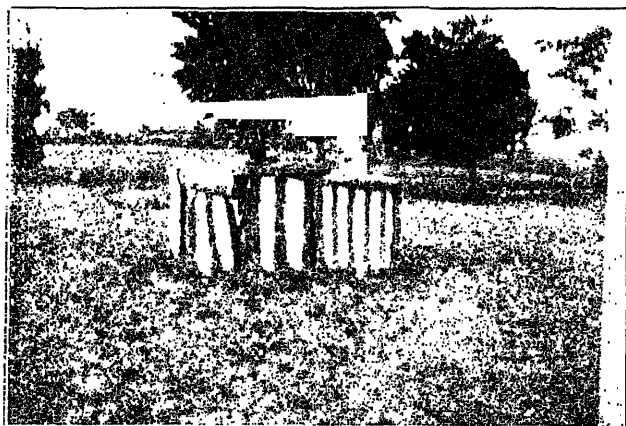


Fig. 3. Tripartite "Dolmen" Shrine of Pedda-puli Gangamma, near Kuppam, Kangundi Palaiyam.

Literature¹, the story of the Judgment of Solomon² is found in the Buddhist Jātakas, and a Swahili version of the Merchant of Venice, almost certainly derived from an Indian source, has recently been discovered by Miss A. Werner in East Africa.³ In South India Sanskrit Literature has so dominated both Myth and Legend that it is not always easy to discern the 'Dravidian' residuum. The literary touch of Aryan influence is patent everywhere, not only in the *Stala Purāna* of Brahmanic Temples and the localization of incidents from the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*, but also in caste traditions and dynastic genealogies. The influence of fiction in the building up of the caste system and in the expansion of orthodox Hinduism has been amply described by Risley and Lyall, and a topographical survey of the *Stala Purāna* of South India would reveal the fact that there is hardly a shrine of importance in South India which has not been provided with a Sanskrit legend. The stock of legends is not sufficiently large to provide each shrine with a different legend, and hence the same legend is repeated over and over again in different places. For instance, I have often come across a newly formed ant-hill worshipped by some low caste *pūjāri* as the manifestation of some obscure village deity unknown to the orthodox Pantheon. I have come across a good many Siva temples which trace their origin to a theophany of Siva in the form of a lingam, discovered miraculously by shepherd boys in an ant-hill. Such local *Purānas* are pretty clear illustrations of the adaptation of indigenous ant-hill worship to Aryan orthodoxy. Similarly a close examination of the legends connected with the sacred *tīrtams* associated with Brahmanic temples reveals a lavish diffusion of Sanskrit legend. (Plate II).

The literary touch has also asserted itself in the domain of what is called 'Folk Etymology,' by which is meant the popular explanation of the names of places and persons. Punning seems to be almost as primal an instinct as the love of alliteration, assonance or rhythm.

In Salem District are two villages known as Daśa-Viḷakku and Pāppambādi. The ladies of Pāppambādi were curious to see the 'ten-lamps' of Daśa-Viḷakku, so they said to each other, '*We shall see, come along, wench,*' (*Pārppōm ! Vā Adī*). Hence the name Pāppambādi. This is the Folk-Pun pure and simple, untouched by the philological pandit.

It is a step further when the deity of Tirupati, in stepping off the Yēlagiri Hills near Tiruppattūr, shook the mountain and exclaimed 'Yēla-giri,' 'Why, O ! Hill' (sc. did you shake ?)⁴

¹ Crooke in *Folk-Lore*, 1908, pp. 153-89.

² 1 Kings, 3, vv. 16-28.

³ *Folk-Lore*, 1915, p. 63.

⁴ Le Fanu, *Salem District Manual*, vol. ii, page 310.

There are three different ways of spelling the vernacular name for the 'Seven Pagodas', each based on a different etymological *Purāna*.¹

The Etymology of the word Mysore has been hotly contested (in the pages of the *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 438 sq.), and, in trying to explain the meaning of the word, scholars are but following the footsteps of the Pappāmbadi ladies.

Similarly, caste names, such as Kōmaṭi, Vellālar, Shānar, Kaikōlar, are variously explained by the owners thereof, and by their candid friends, according to taste, and each explanation has its story attached.

No doubt these details have little direct bearing on the Dravidian Problem, but when attempts are made to assign ethnological significance to the names of places, persons and castes, the fantastic possibilities of Folk Etymology cannot be ignored.

(B.) SONG, whether in the form of a war song, a love song, a cradle song, a dirge or an epithalamium, undoubtedly had, at bottom, a magico-religious value. The use of the Latin word *carmen*, with its derivatives, chant, enchantment, etc., is proof of this. The wizard's spells are uttered in rhythmical verse. Dancing, itself of religious origin, is accompanied by song, as also is labour, particularly labour performed in concert, such as rowing. Children's games, survivals, commonly, of otherwise forgotten ritual, are perpetuated by song, and the solo-and-chorus type of song is of world wide distribution. The professional Bard, whether he is Court Poet or Wandering Minstrel, is as familiar in India as in Mediæval Europe, and he may in a sense be called Father of the Literature of the Aryan-speaking races. In South India this branch of research has hardly yet begun.

(C.) SAYINGS include Proverbs, Riddles, Local and Social Gibes. They throw a useful light on racial character, social custom, occupation and environment. Much material has already been collected, but its value is discounted by want of accurate information as to the social and topographical distribution of each. Risley's Chapter on 'Caste in Proverbs and Popular Sayings'² is an excellent model of what can be done by a scientific treatment of Social Sayings, and it is to be hoped that his example will be followed in other spheres.

¹ See Mr. J. W. Coombes, *The Seven Pagodas*, pp. 23-8 and 59-62.

² *People of India*, pp. 128-153 and Appendix I, 305-83.

VII. ECONOMICS

THE economic evidence need not detain us long, though the subject is of vast importance. Economics are ordinarily dependent on natural conditions, the chief of which is the natural productiveness of the soil.

We may take it that the Sylvan Economy of our jungle tribes represents the earliest phase through which human civilization has passed, that Hunting, Fowling and Fishing preceded the domestication of animals, and that Agriculture came later, and the Industrial Arts later still.

All these phases may co-exist. Sylvan economics survive in pristine purity only in the nooks and crannies of our least accessible hills. It is in the hills too that the earliest type of agriculture (nomadic or shifting cultivation, the bane of our Forest Officers) persists. In the plains, on the other hand, the spread of agriculture has failed to extirpate pastoral habits, and the art of stall-feeding domesticated animals makes little progress.

It is a curious fact that the more highly developed civilization of agricultural and industrial communities seem to impair their virility, while pastoral communities tend to retain a dominant prestige. An interesting example of this is the subservience of Badagas and Kotas to the Todas of the Nilgiris. Many of the great racial irruptions of human history may be explained as the collapse of agricultural and industrial communities before the onslaught of pastoral nomads, and there is reason to believe that the so-called Aryans were primarily a pastoral people when they first invaded India. The only safety for an industrial or agricultural community seems to rest in the recognition of a military caste.

I have already observed that a pastoral economy is apt to produce similar social phenomena in different parts of the world. A close comparison of our Telugu Gollas with the Gallas of Abyssinia and adjacent countries reveals some interesting analogies, and the comparative study of South Indian methods of hunting, fishing and fowling, and of the sylvan economy of our jungle tribes with those found elsewhere is likely to be fruitful. For instance the Kadir of the Anaimalais climbs trees in the same way as the Dyak of Borneo, and chips his teeth like certain Malay tribes¹, while the combs worn by his womenfolk are indetical in type with those worn in the Malay Peninsula.

As for agriculture, it is interesting to note that our humble *manvetti* closely resembles the hoe-spade in use in ancient Egypt, while the terraced cultivation of our hill sides is strangely like the prehistoric hill-top cultivation of Britain². But the most fascinating feature of Indian agriculture is the biggest puzzle of all. I refer to irrigation by tanks and dams, an art of un-

¹ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 359.

² G. L. Gomme, *Village Communities*, p. 75, sq.

questionable antiquity in India, Mesopotamia, South Arabia and China, and one that is so highly developed that its unity of origin can hardly be denied.

I must skip the problems of what may be called our 'caste industries', textiles, metal-working, pottery, tanning, charcoal-making, stone-working, the manufacture of oil and salt, and the wonderful toddy-palm economy of our Shanars, Tiyyans and Idigas, which is virtually independent of agriculture and other means of subsistence, and must content myself with a passing allusion to three other aspects of economics, namely (1) Transport, (2) Commerce and (3) Decorative Art.

(1) *Transport*

Dr. Haddon has traced the cart to the wheelless slide-car of Ireland and North Britain¹. I have seen children drawn about on a wheelless conveyance consisting of a bamboo pole and a triangular frame, with a board on which the child sits. More often a pair of small wheels is attached to the triangular frame, and the transition from this to the single-pole bullock cart is simple. The origin of the wheel is a matter of conjecture. Perhaps it was evolved from log-rollers. It must not be forgotten that many sections of the human race know nothing of the uses of the wheel. The wheel at first was solid and small. Improvement lay in the direction of increased size and lightness, and it was the invention of spokes that made this possible. India preserves an intermediate link in the solid 'block-wheel' of the Odde buffalo-cart. The evidence of sculptures, if closely examined, will probably throw an interesting light on the evolution of the wheel in India and its affinities with the types of wheel in other parts of the world. (Plate III).

As for the art of navigation, the catamaran, the coracle (famous in early Britain), the dug-out, and the out-rigger canoe of Ceylon, are themselves an epitome of its evolution, and, though the so-called 'Aryans' were 'landlubbers', it does not follow that the 'Dravidians' could not navigate the ocean. In short, there is abundant evidence to show that a large proportion of the ancient trade between India and the west was carried on Indian bottoms, and, in view of the fact that the veto on crossing the Ocean, which to this day cripples India's advancement, is confined to the Aryanised castes, it seems certain that the maritime enterprise of ancient India was in Dravidian hands.

(2) *Commerce*

Commerce I mention here merely to suggest research into the affinities of Indian coinage and of the standards of weights and measures which are so intimately bound up with currency. Mr. Vincent Smith points out² that the

¹ *Study of Man*, p. 161, sq.

² *Imperial Gazetteer*, iii, 136.

PLATE III



Fig. 1. Triangular frame with small block-wheels.
Pernampattu, Gudiyattam Taluk,
N. Arcot District.

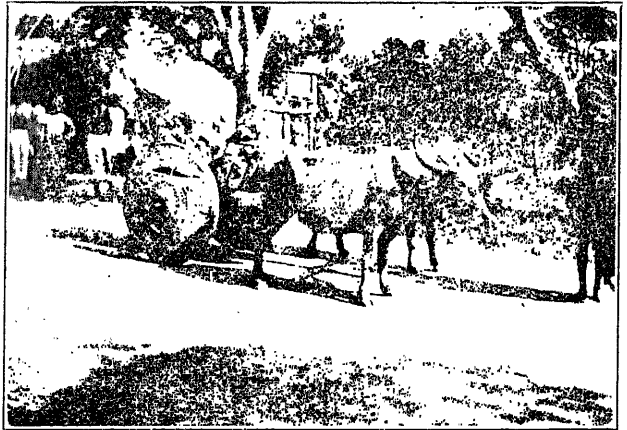


Fig. 2. Block-wheel Cart,
Vijayalapuram, Kangundi Palaiyam.

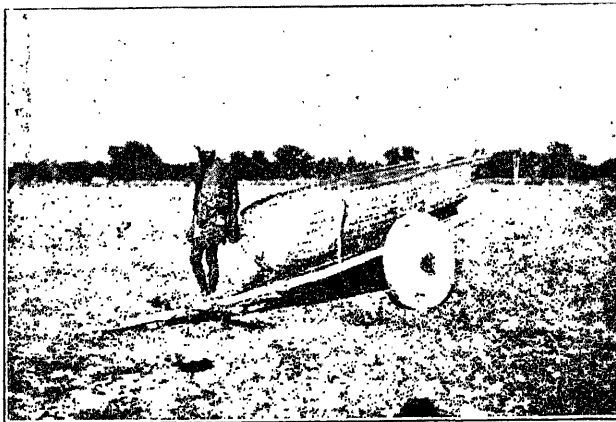


Fig. 3. Block-wheel Cart (used by Oddes),
Venkatagiri-Kota, Chittoor District.

early silver 'punch-marked' coins of North India were equivalent in weight to thirty-two *Kundumani* seeds (*Abrus precatorius*) and that the entire system of ancient Hindu coinage in North India was based on this unit, and the same little seed is, I believe, throughout this Presidency the unit of goldsmith's weights.

The number thirty-two suggests a further avenue of enquiry. Commerce on a large scale is impossible without definite standards of weight and measure, without currency, or without arithmetic. The art of counting has its own history. The decimal system of modern times is to be traced back to the fact that man has five digits on each hand. Some races count in tens, others in twenties. The Babylonians favoured sixties, the Romans twelves. The Indian system of sixteen annas to the rupee is perhaps one of the most convenient yet invented. What is its history? As for arithmetic, there is evidence which indicates that the numerals now used in Europe were derived through the Arabs from South India.

(3) *Decorative Art*

Decorative Art is a study in itself. The types of South Indian jewellery are said to have been derived from flowers. The designs of Persian carpets are of Assyrian origin. Much of the conventional decoration of our temples is common to India and Greece, and the Greeks, in turn, owed their art to the culture of the Mediterranean, which was influenced by Egypt and Mesopotamia. It is needless here to dilate on the history of the Key-pattern, the Spiral, the Acanthus, the Svastika, etc. The Lotus alone deserves a volume to itself, and its conventional use in decorative art seems traceable to Egypt.

PART II

1. THE CASTE SYSTEM

THE caste system is peculiar to India. The essence of the caste system is endogamy, or the law that prohibits a man from marrying outside a certain circle.

There is nothing unique in endogamy. A duke's daughter who marries her father's coachman forfeits her status in aristocratic society. A duke who marries his coachman's daughter is not in quite such a bad plight. His conduct, no doubt, is 'shocking', but he can give his wife a status which her daughter could not give to his coachman.

Isaac and Jacob were forbidden to choose their brides elsewhere than in the country and kindred of Abraham, and Esau became an outlaw for breaking the rule. The offspring of marriage between a citizen of democratic Athens and the daughter of one who was not an Athenian citizen was regarded as illegitimate in the eye of Athenian law. The early history of Rome hinges largely on the veto on marriage between Patricians and Plebs.

But though endogamy is not peculiar to India, the caste system is unique in the completeness with which it dominates the 'teeming millions' of Indian society, its bewildering ramifications and its disintegrating force. A simple and easily intelligible sentiment of aversion has crystallized under the sanction of religion into a rigid system which has comminuted Indian society into thousands of mutually insulated social units. Moreover, the caste system is infectious, for not only has it completely broken up the most formidable revolts against its principles, as exemplified in the history of Buddhism, the Lingayats, and the Brahmo Samaj, but it has exerted its influence on Muhammadans, Christians and Parsees.

The ultimate germ of this caste system is not far to seek. We find it in the word *Varna* (= colour) applied to the four groups into which early Aryan Society was divided, Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śudras, Priests, Warriors, Farmers and Slaves. In a word, the caste system is India's solution of the 'Colour Question'.

There seems little doubt that the so-called 'Aryan' invaders were a white race. The prestige accruing to a fair complexion still crops up constantly in ordinary conversation. The evidence that marriage was permitted

between the 'Four Colours' in early India is overwhelming. The rigorous endogamy with which we are to-day familiar is relatively modern, probably not more than 1500 or 2000 years old. Alien immigrants like the so-called Aryans could not possibly preserve their racial and social integrity in a tropical climate, except by restricting miscegenation, and endogamy is the only safe-guard to racial absorption.

But it is impossible to emphasize too strongly the fact that the 'Four Caste System' has never had any real existence in Dravidian India. In fact, it would appear to be of Indo-European origin, for it was known to the ancient Persians, and, if, as the evidence indicates, the dominance of the Priest over the Warrior was brought about on Indian soil, his relative unimportance in the more militant, and perhaps more barbarous, European branches of the Indo-European races is quite intelligible.

I subjoin a statement, based on the census figures for this Presidency of 1901, showing the strength of the four '*Varnas*' among the four principal sections of the Dravidian Races.

		Brahman	Kṣatriya	Vaiśya	Śūdra
Tamil	...	2.4	...	...	97.6
Malayalam	...	0.6	...	...	99.4
Telugu	...	3.5	0.7	3.0	92.8
Kanarese	...	6.1	0.5	...	93.2
Total for Presidency		<u>3.4</u>	<u>0.9</u>	<u>1.4</u>	<u>94.3</u>

When it is remembered that the claims of most of the castes that have returned themselves as Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are admitted by no one but themselves, it is obvious that any attempt to explain the caste system of South India on the 'Four Caste Basis' is doomed to disaster.

The truth seems to be that the endogamous tendency natural to humanity the natural reluctance to give your daughter in marriage to a (possibly undesirable) stranger, fortified by the innumerable religious and social prohibitions and prejudices inseparable from human society, has, under the influence of the religious, social and literary traditions of immigrant Aryan culture, gradually become stratified and stereotyped into a rigid system. The tendency towards assimilation, the tendency of the masses to adapt themselves to the model set by the classes, is a dominant force in human history.

In other words the 'Caste System' as we know it is of complex origin. Four separatist principles are patently at work in South India, viz.—

- (1) Differences of Language.
- (2) Differences in Occupation.
- (3) Difference in Locality.
- (4) Difference in Religious Creed.

With rare exceptions, these barriers are impassable where marriage is concerned. On the other hand, community of occupation or identity of creed are forces which make for cohesion within limited groups. Hence castes can be provisionally grouped in accordance with their Primary Formative Principles, i.e., on the lines of factors which are dominant in the formation of each. I have suggested the following, which might be readily improved upon:—

A. Ālimental, e.g.—

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| (1) Agricultural. | (3) Hunting. |
| (2) Pastoral. | (4) Fowling. |
| (5) Fishing. | |

B. Functional, e.g.—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (1) Industrial— | |
| (i) Weavers. | (iv) Potters. |
| (ii) Oil-pressers. | (v) Salt-workers. |
| (iii) Toddy-drawers. | (vi) Mat-makers. |
| (2) Artisans— | |
| (i) Goldsmiths. | (iii) Carpenters. |
| (ii) Blacksmiths. | (iv) Stone-masons. |
| (v) Brass-workers. | |
| (3) Labourers, e.g. Pallans, Oddas. | |
| (4) Menials, e.g.— | |
| (i) Barbers. | (ii) Washermen. |
| (5) Traders. | |

C. Sectarian, e.g. Lingāyat.

D. Military, e.g. Rāzu.

E. National, e.g. Marāṭhas.

F. Nomad, e.g. Lambādis.

G. Parasitic, e.g. Mendicants.

H. Outcastes, e.g. Pariahs.

I. Tribal, e.g. Todas.

Sir Edward Gait defines a caste as

- (1) an endogamous group or collection,
- (2) bearing a common name,
- (3) and having the same traditional occupation,
- (4) who are so linked together by these and other ties, such as
 - (a) the tradition of a common origin,
 - (b) the possession of the same tutelary deity,
 - (c) the same social status,
 - (d) ceremonial observances,
 - (e) and family priests,

that they (a) regard themselves,

(b) and are regarded by others as a single homogenous community.

The endogamous social unit is called a 'Sub-caste.' In other words the 'Caste' is analogous to the *genus*, and the 'Sub-caste' to the *species*. Both terms are conventional and elastic; *species* are not immutable, and it is often a matter of opinion as to whether a particular *species* should fall under this or that *genus*. The terminology allows free scope for the interplay of fusion and fission, which are always at work in the Indian social system. Roughly speaking, the limits of the sub-castes are determined by the *jus connubii*, and those of the caste by the *jus convivii*, or right of 'interdining'.

Two other points connected with the caste system in South India require notice, neither of which has yet been convincingly explained.

The first of these is the division of non-Brahman castes into two hostile groups, known as Right Hand and Left Hand. Popularly there are supposed to be eighteen Right Hand and nine Left Hand castes, but I have never yet found two lists to agree. The division cuts right across Linguistic Barriers, for Tamils, Telugus and Kanarese are divided by it. Oppert traces¹ the feud to a struggle between Jains and Brahmans, the former representing urban interests and the latter the interests of landed proprietors. Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar would ascribe it to the military organization of the Chōla Emperors. The division is traceable as far back as the eleventh century A.D.

The second point is the occasional privileges enjoyed by Pariahs in connexion with Brahmanic worship, notably in the Vaiṣṇava settlement at Mēlkōta, in Mysore State, and in the Śiva Festival at Tiruvālūr in Tanjore District, privileges which are interpreted as 'shadows of long departed supremacy'²

II. POLITY

A LOT of rubbish has been written by Sir Henry Maine, and others whose knowledge of India is slender, regarding the Indian Village Community. The term 'village' is used in various senses, and much depends on the constituent elements of the 'community'. On the Hills of Salem and North Arcot we find numerous small hamlets surrounded by cultivated lands, the population of which is homogenous, i. e. of one sub-caste. Such 'communities' are well organized, each hamlet has its headman (*Ur-kavundan* or *Urān*) who settles petty disputes within his village. But an appeal against his decision lies to a higher officer, known as *Nāttān*, who exercises jurisdiction over a number of hamlets (from six to forty, it may be) which constitute a *Nād*. More important matters may be referred to a council of *Nāttāns*. Such an arrangement is unworkable in the plains, where 'communities' are mixed. Hence in the plains we have a dual polity, (a) the village *pañchāyat* and (b) the caste *pañchāyat*.

¹ *Original Inhabitants of India*, p. 61.

² Oppert, loc. cit., p. 52.

(a) The village *panchāyat* in South India has been much modified in the course of centuries by extraneous political influences, and I doubt whether it anywhere survives in its pristine purity. The interest of the State, as represented by the Paramount Power, have to be safe-guarded, and the village headman and village accountant are State officials. Yet the internal affairs of villages were largely left to the village committees, till the disintegrating influence of British Individualism and British Law began to make itself felt, and the interesting catalogues of village officers and village servants recorded by some of our great eighteenth century administrators present a lively picture of 'Self-Government' of a type which is doubtless of extreme antiquity. Sir Lawence Gomme¹ has attempted to show that the Village Community, both in England and in India, preserves survivals of pre-'Aryan' society; and that the pre-'Aryan' elements in both countries are strikingly alike.

On the other hand, we have in South India villages, such as the Agraḥāram or Jāghīr, types which have been artificially created by the special grant of a Paramount Power. In such villages the primeval organisation of the cultivators is often whittled away to vanishing point, and the principles of the Aryan joint-family prevail.

It was once the fashion to regard the 'Family' as the prototype and parent of the 'Tribe'; but the balance of evidence favours the opposite view, viz. that the 'Tribe' existed first and that the 'Family' was evolved out of the 'Tribe.'

The Tribe in its simplest form is distinguished from a Caste by the fact that its basis is political rather than economic or social. The Tribe is united by common interests and the need for mutual defence. Aliens are freely admitted. At the same time the theory of common descent is preserved, and all the tribesmen are in theory kinsmen, and are united by the blood feud. Though this tribal form of community is not now typical of South India, the possibilities of its influence must not be overlooked.

I have described the joint family as an 'Aryan' institution, because it is the orthodox framework of Indian society, authorised by Sanskrit Literature. There is every reason to believe, however, that Dravidian society was modelled on a system of kinship through the mother, a system which survives not only in *Marumakkattāyam* succession on the West Coast, but also in many of the practices observed by non-Brahmanic communities, both Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese. Joint ownership is as much a characteristic of the Malabar *Tarwād* as it is of East Coast Brahmanic society, and it is just possible that the persistence of the joint family owes more to Dravidian than to Aryan influences.

(b) As for Caste government in mixed communities three general types exist.

¹ *The Village Community*, Chapters I, II, IV.

(1) Castes like Weavers, Oil-pressers, and Pallis, which are numerically strong in such centres as they have settled in, have been able to keep their polity to themselves; their headmen and *panchāyatdārs* are of their own caste, and provision is often made for an appeal to a caste council; but the final arbiter is usually a Brahman *Guru*, who gets fees, both regular and special, for his services, and has the supreme privilege of reinstating those who are excommunicated. Polluting castes, such as Pariahs, who are compelled to live apart in settlements of their own, are also able, thanks to the size of their settlements, to manage their affairs through local headmen, but appeal lies to an individual of independent status (usually a Telugu Balija or a Vellalār), called *Dēsāyi Chetti* or *Mahānāttān*, who exercises jurisdiction over the community throughout a considerable tract of country.

(2) Castes which are too weak numerically in a village to run a *panchāyat* of their own, or too much under the heel of the dominant caste of the village to act for themselves, sometimes place their caste disputes in the hands of a committee composed of the leading men of the village.

(3) Some castes adopt a sort of compromise between these two extremes, their tribunal consisting of the leaders of their own caste (*Kulastar*), sitting conjointly with the leaders of other local castes (*Panastar*).

The matters for decision before these various 'courts' are ordinarily property disputes, love affairs, and breaches of caste rules. The usual penalty is a fine and a public feast. Ordeal and oath are recognized forms of procedure and the ordeal of hot iron, or scalding water or oil, are suggestively analogous to the juridical methods of Mediaeval England.

III. TABOO

WHEN I was a small boy, struggling with the French Language, it was always a puzzle to me why the word '*sacré*' meant both 'holy' and 'accursed'. I need not have worried, for the two words convey the same idea. To an Hindu the cow is 'sacred', to a Muhammadan swine are 'unclean'. The sequel is the same; to the Hindu beef-eating, and to the Muhammadan pork-eating, are alike dangerous to the soul.

This idea of 'danger' is the key to the meaning of the familiar Polyneesian word 'tabu', or as we usually pronounce it 'taboo.' This danger is the root idea of pollution and holiness, between which primitive man does not discriminate. Persons or things in a state of holiness or pollution are 'dangerous and in danger'; they are, as it were, charged with a dangerous spiritual electricity, which is transmissible to others, and is dangerous alike to others and to themselves.

To guard against these dangers is the object of taboos, which are defined as 'prohibitions enforced by religious or magical sanctions.' If these prohibitions are disregarded, disaster will follow.

I need not cite instances of the innumerable aspects in which this idea of 'Pollution' or 'Holiness' asserts itself in Indian social and religious life. The contact pollution of the lower castes, or the converse of this which prevents a Brahman from entering a Parachéri, the atmospheric pollution of the West Coast which prescribes the distances within which a low-caste man may approach a man of higher caste, the sympathetic pollution that affects the whole family circle, present and absent alike, in the presence of death, the sanctity of a cow and her five products, of bride and bridegroom, of Rājā and Sanniyāsi, or the peculiar dangers associated with child-birth and puberty; almost the whole of ritual, social, domestic and religious alike, seem to hinge on this idea, and it is the key to most 'superstitions.'

At first sight the elaborate ceremonies observed in connection with birth, marriage and death seem meaningless and silly. A Belgian scholar, M. van Gennep, has brought some order into the chaos by describing them as 'Rites of Passage' from one state of existence to another. To the majority of mankind, birth is not the beginning of human existence, nor is death its end, and the 'holy state of matrimony' is a very different thing to bachelorhood. The four stages of an ideal Brahman's life are an excellent example of this idea of passage from phase to phase, and Greece and Rome provide analogies. Transit from one state of existence to another is a risky business, and must be effected with care. During transit, a person is neither what he was before nor what he will be after; he is dangerous to himself and to others, peculiarly susceptible to dangerous influences. Hence to safeguard him (or her) during transit, and to secure the due completion of the transition, a sequence of ceremonies is instituted, consisting of three groups.

- (1) 'Rites of Separation' from the previous state of existence.
- (2) 'Rites of the Marginal Period' during which he (or she) is separated from his former condition and not yet admitted to the next.
- (3) 'Rites of Aggregation' or of incorporation of the individual into a new community.

As the Marginal Period stands for the 'Threshold' of a New Life, M. van Gennep describes the three stages as (1) pre-liminary, (2) liminary and (3) post-liminary.

The ceremonies connected with birth and childhood, marriage and death afford abundant illustrations of these principles.

IV. BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

THE rites of puberty, pregnancy and childbirth, the ceremonies of naming, ear-boring, weaning and tonsure, and the all important 'thread-marriage' (*Upanayanam*) of the twice born, I do not propose to deal with in this paper, though their affinities with practices elsewhere deserve investigation.

V. MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE, on the other hand, demands treatment in some detail.

The 'Eight Forms' of marriage referred to in the 'Institutes of Manu' are a neat epitome of the history of this interesting human custom, and the fact that in practice these eight forms have been reduced to two types is instructive. The essence of the four 'Approved' forms is the absence of any Bride-Price. The *Asura* form, on the other hand, is frankly a form of purchase, while the remaining forms (6) *Gandharva* (consent), (7) *Rakshasa* (capture) and *Pisācha* (rape) are steps in the descending scale of human evolution. Yet the symbolism of 'marriage by capture' and 'marriage by mutual consent' are preserved in the wedding ritual.

The scrupulous avoidance of any taint of purchase is undoubtedly of 'Aryan' origin. The Bride-Price is the distinguishing mark of all non-Brahmanic castes in South India. A similar gulf lies between the patrician *confarreatio* of Rome and the plebian *coemptio*, and even Homer draws a line between *hedna* and *proix*, bride-price and dowry.

On the other hand, both the 'Approved' forms and the *Asura* form insist on the parent's dominion over the daughter, a principle which is incompatible with either capture or mutual consent, two forms which are of world-wide vogue, and are especially associated with the military classes.

Mother Kinship.

But Manu's epitome is not exhaustive, for it leaves out of account the forms of marriage associated with Mother Kinship.

I have no intention of embarking on the stormy waters of 'Primitive Promiscuity.' A less distasteful alternative has been offered by Mr. Hartland¹. There is every reason to believe that the practice of a bride leaving her parent's house to reside with her husband was preceded by an earlier rule, which required her to remain in her own home and receive her husband there. In scientific jargon, marriage was first 'Matrilocal' and afterwards became 'Patrilocal.' At first the husband's visits were surreptitious. In the next stage the girl's parents tolerated them for a consideration; a stage followed in which the husband had to leave his home and resided permanently in his wife's family. Then, like Jacob and Laban, the husband was permitted to take his bride away after a period of service, on payment in cash or kind. Next, the husband was permitted to take home his bride at marriage, on condition that she should return to her parents' house for a definite period, which usually included her first confinement. In the last stage of all the husband is allowed to retain his wife in his own home permanently.

¹ *Primitive Paternity*, 1910.

Mr. Hartland produces ample evidence from all over the world to prove that each of these practices exist. But it is not necessary to go beyond India for the evidence. In Mr. C. Gopalan Nair's able monograph on the Wynaad, almost all these practices are illustrated.

I think Mr. Hartland has given us the key to the right understanding of Mother Kinship. He lays great stress on the evidence that goes to show that primitive man did not understand paternity. Even in the advanced 'patriarchal' culture of the Hindu Law Books, sonship is not necessarily determined by either marriage or paternity. Sir J. D. Mayne ¹ gives fourteen examples in which sonship is recognized independently of marriage, and he concludes ² that 'the son belongs to the owner of the mother.' The customs of *illatam* (affiliation of a son-in-law), and the dedication of a daughter as a *Basavi*, are probably illustrations of the same principle.

The idea which seems dominant in these practices is economic, and they date from a period when sons and daughters were valuable assets, and not 'encumbrances'. This economic principle is especially clear in the rule called by the Telugus *Mēnarīkam*, and by scientists 'Cross-Cousin-Marriage', which compels a man to marry the daughter either of his mother's brother or his father's sister. This rule is observed, sometimes absolutely, sometimes with various degrees of option, by most Dravidian castes, and in some castes preference is given to a sister's daughter. In fact the same word in Tamil does duty for father-in-law, mother's brother, and father's sister's husband. If the patrilineal theory of inheritance be suddenly applied to a society which observes *Marrumakkattāyam*, the immediate result would be economic dissolution, for family properties would be at once broken up into innumerable fragments. Cross-cousin-marriage, or marriage with a sister's daughter, would save the situation and the family properties would remain intact. Such marriages secure matrilineal succession under patrilineal forms.³

There is overwhelming evidence to prove that Dravidian Society was organised on a matrilineal basis before it succumbed to Aryan influence. Polyandry of the Nayar type is a natural product of matrilineal marriage. ⁴

¹ *Hindu Law and Usage*, 1900, p. 79.

² " " " " p. 87.

³ See *Man*, 1914, No. 97.

⁴ Polyandry is of two types :

- (1) The Nayar type, in which the husbands are not related to each other.
- (2) The Tibetan or fraternal (or adelphic) type in which one wife is common to two or more brothers.

The latter, which is usually associated with male kinship, is possibly quite different in origin to the Nayar system. It is commonly attributed to poverty, though this theory can hardly explain the paternal polyandry of *Drupadi* and the five *Pandavas*.

Exogamy

The next important feature in marriage is exogamy, or the rule which compels a man to choose a bride outside the group to which he himself belongs. It corresponds in fact to our table of prohibited degrees, though it works rather one-sidedly, for a man who can marry his sister's daughter can marry no girl related to him by male descent, however remote the relationship may be. These exogamous groups are technically called 'Clans', of which Brahmanic *Gotrams* are a type. I purposely treat exogamy under a different heading to endogamy, because there seems a tendency among those who should know better to speak of endogamous sub-castes and exogamous clans alike as 'sections' or 'sub-divisions' of a caste, whereas they are utterly different from each other, both in kind or in origin.

The origin of exogamy is a controversial matter into which I need not enter. It is commonly ascribed to Totemism. The essence of Totemism is the association of a whole clan with a whole class of other beings, (usually animals, often plants, more rarely inanimate objects) which forms the totem. The totemistic clan is ordinarily named after its totem, regards its totem as 'of one flesh' with itself, and treats it with reverence.

It must be admitted that Totemism and Exogamy in South India are closely associated. There are few lists of clan names among the less Arya-nised castes which do not include names of plants and animals, and sometimes of inanimate objects, which are treated with some special reverence by the members of the clan. It cannot, however, be taken as proved that Totemism is related to Exogamy as cause to effect. It is clear enough that in the struggle for existence exogamic communities would have a great advantage as against communities that do not practise Exogamy, and it is only natural that Exogamy in some form or other should be an almost universal law of mankind.

It cannot be said that Exogamy is non-Aryan, though Aryan influences have done something to modify the character of Dravidian Exogamy. Risley¹ enumerates five different types of clan, and points out² how the totemistic clan names (i. e. animal and plant names) have given place to group names based on local and territorial distinctions, and these in turn have been abandoned for the names of eponymous ancestors, in some castes Chieftains, in others Rishis. Thus transition is natural and complete from the totem type to the Brahmanic *gotram*.

Infant Marriage

Infant marriage of the Indian type is, I believe, the peculiar product of India. It is neither Vedic nor Aryan, and it certainly is not Dravidian,

¹ p. 161.

² p. 216.

for adult marriage is permitted to all South Indian non-Brahmans except one or two castes, who, like the Komatis, have adopted *in toto* Brahmanic ceremonial. At the same time, a large number of castes affect to prefer infant marriage in avowed imitation of Brahmanic practice, in the hope of enhancing their social prestige. Infant marriage of the Brahmanic type seems to be of relatively recent date, and has, perhaps with reason, been attributed to the impact of Islam.

Re-marriage

Divorce, the marriage of *divorcées*, and the marriage of widows are undoubtedly Dravidian customs, and the veto on them is of Aryan origin. At the same time a re-marriage is never regarded in the same light as a first marriage, and is always celebrated with maimed rites.

The Aryan veto on divorce, one of the strongest points of their social system, is doubtless due to the natural pride of a conquering race in the honour of their women. The taboo on widow marriage is probably a survival, in modified form, of the (possibly?) Indo-European view that the proper place for a widow is with her husband in the next world.

Wedding Customs

In no sphere is the accretionary tendency of culture-contact more pronounced than in the customs connected with marriage, and this is especially the case in South India. The more primitive the community, the simpler the ceremonies, and Aryan ritual is more elaborate than Dravidian. The Komati Vaisyas have gone to the extreme length of embodying in their ceremonies almost the whole Brahmanic ritual, in addition to a very full *repertoire* of non-Aryan ceremonies.

Aryan influences are very strong in South Indian weddings, and a comparison of the Greek and Roman rites presents many striking analogies. On the wedding morning the Athenian bride and bridegroom bathed ceremonially in water brought from some sacred source by near relatives. The bride was ceremonially conducted in procession with musical honours to the bridegroom's house, which was adorned with green branches. The bride's mother bore a torch kindled at her own hearth. As the bride and bridegroom entered the house, they were greeted with showers of fruit and sweet-meats. The Spartan bride was carried off by force; the bridegroom's women-folk dressed her in boy's clothes. The Romans were very careful to select an auspicious day. The bride is supported by a married lady. The bride was lifted over the threshold of her new home. Sacrifice was offered to the household gods, and the ceremonies closed with a big feast.

All these rites have their parallels in South Indian customs. It would be impossible in the limits of this paper to give a detailed list of such ceremonies. Roughly they may be grouped under four heads.

- (1) Preliminaries.
- (2) Ceremonial welcome to bride and bridegroom.
- (3) The 'binding' ceremony and its adjuncts (*muhūrtam*).
- (4) Concluding ceremonies.

The ideas of 'Separation' and 'Aggregation' are very obvious. The rites of the 'Marginal Period', particularly those connected with *muhūrtam*, are the most elaborate. The object of the minor ceremonies seems to be primarily to protect the couple from evil influences, and secondarily to ensure future happiness and fertility. But the idea that runs through the whole ritual is that the bridal pair are about to make 'a new departure' in life, a 'change of condition', a transition from single life to matrimony, from one family to another; the essence of the binding portion of the ceremony, whether it be tying the *tāli*, tying cloths, clasping hands, sitting side by side, is that it is done publicly, before witnesses, and the closing banquet is a public recognition that the bridal pair are man and wife.

VI. DEATH

I SHALL only touch on two points connected with funeral ceremonies, viz., (1) the Disposal of the Body and (2) the Disposal of the Soul.

(1) It is usually assumed that Cremation is Aryan and Inhumation Dravidian. This view is probably correct, but it is not accepted without question. Cremation is to some extent a matter of expense, and in many communities both methods of disposal are practised according to means. It is true that the Indo-European Chieftains practised Cremation with no small pomp, but it is not proved that the rank and file of their followers did the same. Many castes who ordinarily cremate the dead, inter the bodies of young infants, of saints, of women who die in child-birth, and of all who die of epidemic disease. It would be unsafe to ascribe such exceptions to Dravidian influence. Moreover, it is probable that methods of disposal other than cremation and inhumation have been practised in India in the past (e.g. various forms of exposure, or committal to water). Even the orientation of the dead is variable and of uncertain origin. The usual position of the corpse is on its back with feet towards the north, so that in rising it would face Mount Kailāsa, but most of the pre-historic barrows I have seen are orientated east and west. In short the blanks in our knowledge of South Indian Archæology render it unsafe to dogmatise.

(2) Funeral obsequies do not cease with the disposal of the body. The soul seems to be regarded with a curious and perplexing mixture of love and fear. It seems to be both malevolent and beneficent. At one moment it is

a welcome guest in the home, and at another every effort is made to prevent its return.

It seems clear, however, that the primal sentiment was one of fear, and that the highly specialized ritual of the Brahmins is the refinement of a more exalted civilization.

Generally speaking, I find that the less Aryanised castes do little to perpetuate the memory of the departed, and that, beyond an annual 'All Souls Day', the dead are forgotten as soon as the period of mourning (or Death Pollution) is over.

The ceremonies that take place within the period of Death Pollution indicate clearly the belief that the soul is in an unsettled state, and apt to wander at large, or return to its home, and that the consequences of such return may be unpleasant. The soul, in short, is in a state of transition from one sphere of existence to another, and the 'Marginal Period' is dangerous. The period closes with ceremonies which are obviously intended to complete the 'Passage' to the next world, and mourning closes with a funeral feast among the surviving relatives. With this Dravidian ritual practically terminates, but Aryan practice requires that the deceased should be commemorated monthly for a year, and annually afterwards for three generations. The termination of the funeral rites marks a change in the attitude of the living towards the spirits of the departed, which are henceforth regarded as friendly.

Though the cult of individual Ancestors was highly elaborated among the Egyptians and other non-'Aryan' peoples, the absence of such among the Dravidians, coupled with the analogies of Roman and Greek ritual, seem to indicate that *Srāddhas* are a legacy of the Indo-European invaders.

VII. DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE official mind demands that at least one section should be devoted to 'Others' or 'Miscellaneous' or 'Unclassified', and it is with such matters that this last and closing section has to deal. The list of these unclassified subjects is long and interesting. It includes town-planning, villages, forts, house construction and furniture, personal adornment (e.g. dress, jewellery, modes of dressing the hair, tattooing, mutilation), food and cooking, fire-making, household superstitions, the use of drugs and narcotics, and recreation.

All these are profitable subjects for investigation. It is only on the last that time permits me to touch.

Games are wonderfully persistent. For instance, Petronius Arbiter in Rome in the first century A.D. describes a game in which one boy jumped on the back of another, and holding up some of his fingers called on the other to guess how many he held up with the words '*Bucca Bucca, quot sunt hic?*' This game survived in England in the nineteenth century, the formula

being 'Buck, Buck, how many fingers do I hold up.' The survival of that meaningless word 'Buck' from the days of Nero to the days of Queen Victoria is a striking example of the precise conservatism of children.

Tamil boys play a game called '*Kitti*', which is a counterpart of the English game of 'Tip-cat'. Why 'Cat'? I fear you will think me fanciful if I were to suggest that 'Cat' is derived from '*Kitti*'.

Hop-Scotch, with innumerable variations and under various names, is well known in most Tamil villages.

Kite flying is certainly of Asiatic origin, and its importation into Europe is of relatively recent date.

Marbles and top-spinning (whip-top, peg-top and humming-top) are well known in India, and cock-fighting is a favourite village pastime; I have not yet been able to trace the history of these games in Europe.

Chess is essentially the *Kriegspiel* of Asia. The 'rook' is a survival of the elephant corps, and the 'bishop' of the war chariot (or perhaps the camelry), while the very unladylike pugnacity of the piece we call the 'queen' is perhaps explained by its vernacular appellation '*mantiri*', 'prime minister'.

Backgammon, too, is but a modified form of the well-known *Pachīs* (*Dāyam*) and Fox-and-Geese differs little from *Pathin-āinthām-Puli*.

Polo, of course, we have borrowed from India in recent years, and though the suits ('castes') of playing cards have (mutilated) English names, and two of the chief games are modified forms of 'Nap' and 'Bezique', playing cards themselves are of Asiatic origin.

Perhaps the most widely distributed game in the world is 'Cat's-Cradle', which has attained astonishing elaboration in Polynesia and is known in India and England.¹

CONCLUSION

I HAVE scampered erratically over the greater part of the earth's surface in my quest for light on the Dravidian problem. The question will be asked 'What is the use of it?'

Those who are interested in the subject will greet such a question with derision. But the question is sure to be asked, and I had better answer it.

Lucrative the study of Indian Ethnology is not likely to prove. The chances are that its votaries will find themselves out of pocket for their pains. But I would earnestly submit that a knowledge of the elements of South Indian Ethnology is very necessary to administrative and judicial officers in this Presidency, and a proper understanding of it is a condition precedent to Social Reform. I doubt whether an attempt to reconstitute the Depressed

¹See *Man*, 1914, No. 45.

Classes on a Brahmanic model is likely to meet with success. The Brahmins themselves can afford to relax the rigor of caste taboos, but the non-Brahman ninety-six per cent. decline to follow the lead. And can any Indian contemplate the complete break up of caste restrictions with equanimity? The caste system has stood the test of centuries, and it would be a dangerous experiment to scrap the whole social system of 300 million souls in favour of the exotic system of Western Europe, which not one in ten thousand understands. *Naturae non imperatur, nisi parendo*, and Reform, if it is to strike root and flourish, must be cultivated with due regard to the nature of the soil on which its seeds are sown. Do not forget the lesson taught by Prickly Pear.

One point more. What will be the future of our village *Panchāyats*?

Will they rivet on the neck of the Indian Labourer the yoke of servitude to the *Sāt-Sudra* caste which happens to be dominant in his village?

Will place and power become the monopoly of those who have the good fortune to understand English?

Or will the *Panchāyats* follow the English model, the absolute despotism of a numerical majority created by a labour vote, and the complete annihilation of the rights of minorities?

I doubt whether any of these three alternatives would commend itself to India's multitudes, and I believe that justice can only be safeguarded, not by extirpating, but by preserving and adapting the communal organisation which has resisted the corrosion of over a century of Individualism.

I must thank you all for your patient hearing. If your views on the Dravidian problem are in utter confusion, the purpose of this paper is fulfilled. The subject is in chaos, and will remain in chaos till all the side-lights now so feebly glimmering are brought into full play.

Appendix A

A FEW differential Criteria of Aryan and Dravidian Culture—

<i>Aryan.</i>	<i>Dravidian.</i>
1. Subordination of Women.	Freedom of Women.
2. Infant Marriage.	Adult Marriage.
3. Chastity.	License.
4. No Divorce.	Divorce.
5. No Widow Marriage.	Widow Marriage.
6. Gift of Daughter and Dowry.	Bride-Price.
7. Vegetarianism.	Flesh eating.
8. No Blood Sacrifice.	Blood Sacrifice.
9. Iconic Worship.	Aniconic Worship.
10. Patrilineal.	Matrilineal.

11. Patrilocal.	Matrilocal.
12. Patripotestal.	Matripotestal.
13. Brahmanic Gods (Goddesses subordinate).	Mother Goddesses predominant.
14. Brahman <i>Purōhit</i> and <i>Guru</i> .	Own <i>Purōhit</i> and <i>Guru</i> .
15. Annual <i>Srāddhas</i> .	No Annual <i>Srāddhas</i> .
16. Cremation.	Inhumation.

Appendix B

NOTE ON CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

(*Extracted from Man, 1914, No. 97.*)

ASSUMING that inheritance through females preceded inheritance through males in South India, it is probable that the transition from one to the other was gradual, not sudden.

Under a system of inheritance through females a man has no interest whatever in finding out who his father is. When, however, the idea of paternity begins to take shape, perhaps under the influence of a superior culture, the father begins to take a paternal interest in his child. He naturally wishes to provide for the child's future, but under a matrilineal system this is impossible.

Now under Mother Right I inherit my mother's property, but I cannot transmit the heritage to my children, for my sister and her children are my heirs. If, therefore, I wish to transmit the property I enjoy to my children I must marry my own sister's daughter.

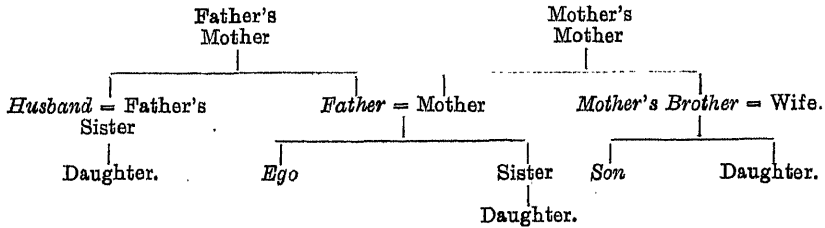
Similarly, my father is heir to his mother, but he cannot transmit the wealth he enjoys in his own right to me, for his sister and his sister's children are his heirs. If, therefore, he wishes to provide for me out of the ancestral property, he must marry me to his sister's daughter.

So also my mother's brother cannot transmit his property to his son, for my mother and her children are his heirs. His only way out of the difficulty is to marry his son to my sister.

Under a matrilineal system in its archaic form the actual management of property vests in females.¹ But in course of time the eldest male member of the family came to be recognized as manager. As manager of a family, by this time 'patriarchal' in all its ideas except those of inheritance, my mother's brother would find that a marriage between me (his heir) and his daughter (his wife's heir) would be the most convenient method of keeping the family property intact and providing for us both.

¹ See J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, 1901, page 688.

The subjoined diagram illustrates the difficulties of succession under Mother Right; the individuals in italics therein cannot transmit property:—



The foregoing hypothesis was formulated by me in 1909,¹ in the backwoods of South India, in complete ignorance of all that had already been written on the subject,² and it was with no small surprise that I came across a precisely similar explanation of Cross-Cousin Marriage as it exists in an entirely different branch of the human race. Writing of the Carrier Division of the Western Déné (Athapascan) Indians of North America,³ Mr. C. Hill-Tout thus describes the advantages of marrying a boy to his maternal uncle's daughter:—

‘Though descent was counted exclusively on the mother's side among these tribes, the authority of the father was recognized to a considerable extent; for he had a voice in the disposal of his daughters in marriage, and frequently so arranged matters that his legal inheritor and successor, his sister's son, should marry one or more of his daughters. This was done that his offspring might share in his property, and not be wholly deprived under the clan rule of his possessions, as under their laws no hereditary property or rights could be alienated or passed over to the members of another clan, even though the recipients were the donor's own children. These laws and regulations were very strictly observed among the Carriers, and hence the practice of marrying the girl to her first cousin on her father's side’.

* * * *

I do not claim to have solved the problem of Cross-Cousin Marriage in all its manifestations. I am fully aware that my economic hypothesis is not novel. I submit, however, that the evidence recited suggests:—

- (1) That in South India, economic considerations, and, in particular, the transmission of ‘family property,’⁴ exercise a very material influence on marriage relationships;

¹ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, October, 1909, p. 40.

² E. g. Dr. Rivers in *J.R.A.S.*, 1907 p. 611-640 and Mr. A. E. Crawley in the *Taylor 'Festschrift'*, 1907.

³ *The Natives of British North America*, 1907, p. 145.

⁴ It would be incorrect to speak of ‘clan property’ in South India, as the Brahmanic practice of partition almost everywhere has broken up the clan exogamous group into numberless joint families and the joint family is now the economic unit.

- (2) That the growth of 'paternal feeling' is inconsistent with and inimical to the continuance of matrilineal succession ;
- (3) That the intrusion of a strongly patrilineal culture, such as the Brahmanic culture undoubtedly is, into a matrilineal sub-culture would tend to subvert the economic foundations of society by the disruption of 'family property' ;
- (4) That in a matrilineal community one of the main advantages of patrilineal transmission of property, viz. the gratification of the natural desire of a father to provide for his offspring, may be effectively secured by insisting that a man should marry the daughter of either his maternal uncle, his paternal aunt, or his sister ; and
- (5) That the same rule would enable a matrilineal community to conform to a patrilineal system of inheritance without fear of dissipating the family property, the integrity of which is dependent on the continuance of inheritance on matrilineal lines.

In other words, the rule which gives a man the first refusal of his sister's, his maternal uncle's or his paternal aunt's daughter in marriage may be interpreted as a sort of compromise between matrilineal succession and Brahmanic law; it preserves inviolate the principles of matrilineal inheritance under patrilineal forms.

F. J. RICHARDS.

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BRITISH PRISONERS IN MYSORE FORTRESSES

A paper read before the Mythic Society by the Rev. F. Goodwill

THE story of the British prisoners in Mysore is inseparably connected with the personal histories of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan, and the tale of the sufferings of some of them links together the four British wars with Mysore, in 1768, 1780-4, 1791-2 and 1799. The record of their sufferings is dark and heart-stirring, and the fragments of experience that have been recorded are only suggestive of sorrows multiplied to an unknown degree. Yet their pitiful experiences did not entirely fail of pity from those who witnessed them, and it is a pleasure to remember the Commandant of Caveripatnam, where a batch of prisoners rested a day *en route* to Mysore, smoking his *hookah* among them and sympathizing with them; to recall the pity of Tippoo's mother for the young boys among the captives and her efforts to alleviate their sufferings; to see the villagers bringing water for the prisoners in their long march to jail; and to find some even among their jailers themselves yielding to sentiment and being willing to oblige by smuggling little luxuries into the prison.

The time of the second Mysore War, 1780-4, is the period when the greatest number of captives were held by the Mysoreans, but we shall give evidence later to the effect that some prisoners were retained after the conclusion of each of the first two wars, and it is not till after 1792 when Cornwallis made his way to the gates of Seringapatam, that the mournful voice of the captive ceases to be heard somewhere in the land.

The chief sources of information of the condition and fate of prisoners are the diaries of officers detained at Seringapatam, the personal narratives of two seamen Scurry and Whiteway, and the narratives of the wars written by officers who took part in them and published their books about the end of the century.

The number of British prisoners captured by Hyder and Tippoo and distributed among the Mysore fortresses can best be realized by the statement that when the treaty of Mangalore in 1784 set free the greater part of them there were gathered together at Hoskote near Bangalore 180 officers, and 900 soldiers for the march to Vellore and liberty. We may remark in passing that at this time were set free also 1,600 sepoy and hundreds of servants and camp-followers, who all had shown according to their limited

opportunities wonderful attachment to the British cause and the persons of their officers. More than once we find sepoys engaged in strenuous labour upon a scanty allowance of food giving part of their rations to their old officers, who, they urged, could not live so well as they could on hard fare.

The diary of the officers' imprisonment at Seringapatam begins with the tale of the disastrous defeat of Col. Baillie near Conjeeveram, September 10, 1780. Twenty-three unwounded officers were sent straightway to Bangalore; seven officers, among whom were Col. Baillie and Capt. Baird, both wounded, were kept in Hyder's camp; twenty-seven other wounded officers and many soldiers were sent to Arni till they recovered. When able to travel ten of these officers, our diarist among them, and thirty-two soldiers were sent on their long march of 226 miles to Seringapatam. The officers were on mules, the soldiers on foot. The latter were handcuffed, two and two, were barefoot and almost naked, little room then to wonder that soon they were not able to walk and had to be carried forward on bullocks, but still handcuffed. The march in the earlier stages appears to have been across country, later they stayed the night at Ryacotah, Hosur, and Bangalore. From the fact that this band stayed only one night at Bangalore it may be presumed that Capt. Baird, who had already made the journey to Seringapatam, made a similarly short stay there, and that the legends and recently erected inscriptions to the effect that he was imprisoned in Bangalore for a considerable period are alike untrustworthy. As the prisoners approached wayside villages tom-toms were beaten to call the people to see the unusual sight. Some of the villagers pitied and refreshed them, others execrated them, lively evidence that human nature was much the same then as it is to-day.

Continuing their march, they stayed the night at Kengēri, Rāmagiri, Chennapatna and Gootill, completing the journey to Seringapatam in five days. At Chennapatna they were lodged for the night in the rooms at either side of a gateway of the fort, the officers on one side and the men on the other, and the officers gladly availed themselves of the opportunity to talk with our soldiers and give them small presents of clothing and tobacco.

Arrived at Seringapatam and led in triumph to Hyder's palace, their names were carefully taken down, and they were conducted to a small prison close by, where they found Capt. Baird and eight others who had preceded them, and, say they, 'our joy on this occasion was great'. The place of their imprisonment has been discussed at length before the Mythic Society by the Rev. E. W. Thompson, M.A., and there is no need to do more than refer to the facts. From the diary a careful reading will glean that from the prison both the palace of Hyder and that of the Mysore raja could be seen, but the voices of the boys on the roof of Hyder's palace could not be heard. There was an open space 200 yards wide in front of the prison, probably the parade ground they eventually crossed to the palace. The most definite statement lies in the sentence that 'the spacious palace in which the young

king of Mysore resides stands in a large square in the very centre of Seringapatam, *in an angle of which our prison was also situated*’.

The soldiers were confined in a separate prison. They commonly called it ‘the Bull’, being an appropriated Śaivite temple which had the ‘Basava’ conspicuous upon it. Scurry says that in 1783 250 sergeants and men were confined ‘in one square prison.’

No cots were given, though they were urgently asked, and so ‘we are necessitated to make use of straw’. The door of the prison was not allowed to be opened during the day. On March 8, 1781, Col. Baillie and Capt. Rumley were brought up in irons. This apparently initiated closer confinement, for on the 28th all were ironed, and were ordered to muster three times a day. On May 10 all, except Capt. Baird, were put in heavy irons, 8-9lbs. in weight. The soldiers too were all in irons. ‘This was the commencement of a deliberate system, as afterwards more fully appeared, for cutting us off. This is a melancholy day’. Some were freed from time to time, apparently to excite conjecture and apprehension as to their fate, for the dates of liberation and re-confinement indicate no connexion with outward events such as might have given rise to alternate leniency and severity. In July, 1782, Col. Baillie writes to the other officers from his prison that they have no idea why their irons were taken off. The illness or approaching death of unfortunate individuals brought little respite, though urgent petitions backed with bribes sometimes secured release for a dying man. By September 10 we find the entry, ‘several gentlemen’s legs are found to be much swollen on account of the weight of their irons’, and a month later Capt. Baird hitherto free, is ironed like the rest.

Their rations at this time were a seer of rice, half a seer of ‘doll’, a little ghee and six cash a day with which to buy extras. These their servants were allowed to buy in the bazaar morning and evening. This daily visit of the servants to the bazaar was made the opportunity, at great risk, and with much misgiving, for the sending of letters between the different prisons. Usually the letters were wrapped within an *āppam* or a cigar; and a servant would ask a friend if he cared to have a bit of *āppam* or a cigar, when the article would be handed over to be disposed of in other than the ordinary way. Late in their stay in Seringapatam an old woman handed to a servant of the officers found by the well thirteen pagodas sent to Capt. Judson by his wife. The old woman had wandered for three years seeking her sepoy son who was at Conjeeveram, and at length was rewarded by finding him at Seringapatam. This was the only money that reached our officers from outside sources; and they remark with a touch of bitterness that they think Government could have done something for them if they had had the affection of a wife.

Though their allowance was a mere pittance, the prisoners were always ready to subscribe to help new-comers whose allowance was still smaller.

In 1784 they hear by a secret letter from the soldiers' prison of the arrival from Bednore of a soldier's widow with two infants, and promptly raise among themselves twenty gold fanams for her use. Medicines were also greatly needed for the sick among them. At first they were permitted the services of a French surgeon who was in Hyder's service. He showed them much kindness, but was not long allowed to continue his ministrations. They manage, however, to send off four letters by his servant, but received no reply. On November 12 they were informed that no medicines were to be supplied to them under pain of mutilation, punishment that was to involve both hands, ears and nose. 'We had not come there to live, we were told, and nothing could be more acceptable to the Nabob than the news of our death'. On receipt of this information they drooped visibly, but the sentinels were found still willing to bring them drugs when it was possible with safety. They managed to possess themselves of cassia, tamarind, quicksilver and jaggery, and apparently learned to use these to good purpose. The 'doctor's box' was the object of a regular subscription from all in the prison, and now and again they managed to convey medicines to the other prisons.

In the midst of suffering and foreboding they do not forget that they are Britishers, and under the date June 4, 1791, is the heroic entry: 'In consequence and in honour of His Majesty's birthday, we had for dinner fowl cutlets and a "flower" pudding, and drank his health in a chatty of sherbet'. Nor do they fail of the resources of intelligent men, but fashion for their convenience tables, stools, cots and trunks of bamboo, 1,100 pieces in one trunk; hats of leather and garments of coarse dungeree: nk of lamp black, chessboards of paper and cloth and cards of the same; pens of fowl quills and paints of various colours. The diary was written on thin paper, in a fine hand such as idlers use when they write the Lord's Prayer in the circle of a half-penny, and was buried in the floor of their prison whenever they were apprehensive of a search being made.

On September 18, 1781, the dasara festival came round, 'a grand Gentoo feast, at which the king of Mysore was present, a lad of about twelve years of age. This royal prisoner is allowed to appear in public only at this particular time. We were allowed as a very particular favour to indulge our curiosity with a sight of His Majesty'. Again, two years later, is a similar entry, and the information that the ladies of the Harem and the prisoners were given greater freedom at this time. Palace and prison alike found it a boon to peep abroad at this festive time when both Hindu and Mahomedan made merry. But between these dates we find a significant entry to the effect that an officer was struck by a sentinel for attempting to look out of the prison door.

Frequent offers were made, from a very early period of their imprisonment, of service with Hyder, but no one accepted the honour with its promised power and liberty. Artificers, craftsmen of all sorts, carpenters and

smiths, were at a premium in the capital. At Chitaldroog likewise requests were made for the services of those who could make paper, lead pencil, flints, etc. At one time, according to the narrative of Scurry, eighty of the soldier prisoners were employed in various trades at the arsenal. But those who in this way obtained some liberty must needs be careful of their ways if they were to retain their lives; two mates of the 'Hannibal' were hung on one tree together with one Food, who unthinkingly occupied himself in their company in making a sketch of the surrounding country.

Considerable numbers of the prisoners, both of officers and men, were forcibly circumcised and initiated into the rites of Islam. The reply of the soldiers to the offer of service had been that they would rather die than serve; but the authorities were determined to secure English training for the large numbers of youths captured in Malabar and the Carnatic, whom they were forming into regiments, so with the help of drugs and the sturdy arms of professional wrestlers they made Mahommedans of as many as they from time to time required. The first report of this procedure that reached the officers said that sixteen soldiers had been thus converted, and shortly afterwards they saw from their prison that a number of Europeans in Mohammedan dress drilling the Carnatic slave boys. Scurry tells in detail how at one stage of their initiation they were made to bathe in scalding water to rid their flesh of the impurities of their previous diet, and how the guards with roars of laughter chased back the parboiled wretches to the baths when they attempted to escape. Later in their imprisonment these men were sent out with their regiments on service in Coorg and Malabar, and experienced some fighting. But they were always more or less under suspicion of their superior officers, suspicion that was not ill-founded, since several escaped or attempted to escape into the jungle country in which they were marching and fighting. They were given the rank of havildars, and were invested with swords and suitable badges of rank; but frequently we read of them being beaten and disgraced, of their swords being removed from them and then of their reinstatement and continuance in duty. Lieuts. Speediman and Rutlegge also were obliged to instruct this class of recruits to the Mohammedan army in their drill, but the officers seem to have little conceit of their pupils or of their own instruction, for they write to the officers' prison telling of their work and say 'Thank God! what they know will never do the Company any harm'. These two officers sought to escape from their enforced duty, but were recaptured and confined in irons in Ganjam, the suburb of Seringapatam.

It is interesting to observe that even under these straitened circumstances national traits still persist, they manifest sometimes that impatience and independence that so commonly mark the Englishman in India. Under date February 24, 1782, the officers record: 'A European Mussalman put in stocks and stripped naked for striking a Caffre'. And there he was kept for

two days to cool his temper. Another story comes from the camp to the effect that the Englishmen in the regiment of converts, being dissatisfied with the food that was being served to them or with the delay that balked good appetite, forcibly took possession of the cooking pot and ran off with its contents.

In some cases men were compelled to hard labour, to the carrying of mud, in order to induce them to accept service. But Tippoo, in his day of power, had other means also of securing the allegiance of the men whom he had made Moslems. Scurry tells how he was paraded one morning with the picked body of young men whom Tippoo had gathered from Bangalore prisons and elsewhere, and in line behind them were ranged in equal numbers young women who had been brought up from Arcot and other districts below Ghats. Presently the order was given to turn about and to take the gift that stood before them; later the pairs thus mated were married according to Mahommedan rites. But in the passage from the parade ground through the bazaars there was much crowding and confusion, and many men asserted when the pairs reassorted themselves that they had not got the women assigned to them originally, and had apparently not fared so well. And Scurry tells how for long after the women wrangled and squabbled among themselves, and it was only when their husbands knew something of the vernaculars that they learned that some of the women equally regretted that jostle in the bazaar and only made the best of a bad bargain by the use of vigorous language. But it appears that many of the men came to love the women thrust upon them and the children that were born to them; Scurry to the end of his days did not cease to make efforts to find his wife and child whom he left with much regret when he made his escape from Chitaldroog, and Richardson, who was escaping with him, returned after he had gone a quarter of a mile, unable to forsake his family. And there is much pathos and beauty in the sight of the women following their husbands from place to place, and ministering to their physical needs to the utmost of their power despite the fatigues of the way or the discomfort of storms.

The sepoys were cruelly treated everywhere, and many took service to escape the greater severities of their confinement. Such as did not consent to labour were chained together in pairs in prison or were summarily put to death. It is clear that large numbers of sepoys perished in Mysore at this period. A commandant of Tanjore cavalry, 'Sid Abram', evidently Syed Ebrahim a Mohammedan, was confined for several months in the prison with the British officers. They were comrades, they shared their little substance, and when the Syed was removed elsewhere the officers sent him what money they could afford, and assured him that if they gained their liberty they would speak to the Company of his staunchness and fidelity.

On March 26, 1782, the neighbourhood of the prison was all bustle and excitement. The prisoners could hear irons being prepared and put on to

many prisoners, and speculated who they could be. They proved to be eighteen officers of Col. Braithwaite's detachment who had been taken near Tanjore. Many of them had walked the whole way up from Conjeeveram. 'These circumstances', it is written, 'aggravated the mental gloom that had long hung over the place of our confinement'. But still hope and life persisted in the greater number of them. The sick were patiently attended night and day by those who were well, and the dead were prepared for burial as decently as circumstances permitted. Usually they appear to have used some part of the burial service before their dead were taken out of the prison. A vivid picture is drawn of the mental condition of the prisoners in the entry of July 5, 1782, relating to Capt. Lucas, just deceased. Their simple eulogy of him says: 'In his manner he was unassuming, amiable and engaging, and the cheerfulness and vivacity of his temper, which were expressed in lively songs and facetious sallies, scattered frequent rays of mirth on our gloomy mansion'.

In October, 1782, an effort was made to enlarge themselves by means of a ransom. The whole party offered Rs. 1,20,000 for their freedom, with the promise not to serve again during the war. To this advance no reply was given.

On November 13 the prisoners were further saddened by hearing of the death of Col. Baillie in his separate prison. On account of his rank and great military talents, he seems to have been treated with special barbarity, and at last privations and inward grief together brought about his end. Whiteway, the companion of Scurry in imprisonment, says that Col. Baillie was cruelly treated because of his participation in a scheme to revolt with the aid of the two regiments of converts officered by Europeans and take possession of the fortress. He declares that Dempster, a deserter in the service of Hyder, found a letter written by Col. Baillie to this effect and laid it before the governor. Although the story comes through an English channel, the writer's chances of hearing intimate news of this sort were so small that no reliance can be placed upon it, in the absence of any other similar suggestion from elsewhere.

Dempster won the good opinion of the officers because of his kindness and helpfulness in many ways. They promise to speak for him when released, and he engages to send letters for them to the Company's government. But the European Mussalmans who were under him in the service speak most bitterly and contemptuously of Dempster; he was their company commander, and, though he had ingratiated himself with them and had used all his arts to persuade them peaceably to accept the rite of circumcision, he had a tongue capable of fluent abuse and rasping jibe when the occasion arose for such. He is said to have been piked to death in his hut eventually, and there was nothing in his life that even the prisoners could desire.

Early in 1783 darker shadows still fell upon the prison house. On February 26, Rumley, Frazer and Sampson were sent away in palanquins one evening to Mysore. Strange and dark were the conjectures of those left behind as to the fate of these gentlemen. Rumley had led the charge against the guns on the morning of Col. Baillie's tragedy; Frazer was one of Baillie's staff officers; Sampson was an officer greatly beloved of Col. Braithwaite who wrote a poem in his memory and sent it to the officers' prison. As the palanquins passed the soldiers' prison one of the officers was heard to say 'Goodbye! lads, we don't know where they're taking us'. Their ability and bravery had focussed the rage of their jailers upon them, and they were poisoned in the fort at Mysore.

On May 27, 1783, General Matthews arrived at Seringapatam, having been seized at Bednore in violation of the treaty that Tippoo had just made with him. Justice must add that Matthews did not himself deal fairly regarding the treasure of the place: moved by cupidity he secured large sums for his own use, and also distributed two months pay to his troops, a breach of faith that Tippoo punished with the utmost rigour. Moreover he was incensed at the cruelties that the British had practised at the capture of Anantapore, when even women and children had fallen in the slaughter. Matthews smuggles to the officers a month or so later a letter telling the story of his downfall: 'the troops that were with me are some in the Nabob's service, the rest sent in irons to different parts of the country'. On August 17, the washerman brought to the prison the information that General Matthews was put in irons, and on September 8 he was murdered by means of poison. This appears to have been done under direct orders from Tippoo. For several days the guards who carried the poisoned victuals gave him their own food instead. But this evasion was not long possible, and Matthews was told that if he did not die the Havildar in charge of him would be put to death. For some days he refused food of any kind, and struggled with furious hunger; at last he consented to eat and drink, and the end came within six hours. In his prison a brass basin was found on which writing had been scratched by means of a fork. This was taken to the Killedar, and the officers' diary says that the writing was read by a European in Tippoo's service. In his narrative Scurry says that he himself was called to read the scratched writing and that it stated that Matthews knew that his time was short, that he was poisoned by Tippoo's order, and that he wished the Government to remember that he had borrowed Rs. 330,000 from the Malabar Christians to pay his troops and that this sum should be repaid them. He adds that when Tippoo heard of the loan that had been given Matthews by the Malabar Christians he promptly invaded their country, and brought 30,000 of them in captivity to the capital.

On October 22 they send some fanams to Capt. Leech imprisoned elsewhere, the fanams are done up in the buttons of a shirt they forward him, but

he replies that no 'pills', have been found. Previously of their charity they had sent a donation of thirty-three fanams, but the hand that conveyed the gift had passed on only thirty-two fanams. And still the Kanarese proverb remains true: 'Devaru koṭṭarū, pūjāri koḍanu' 'Although the gods give, the priest does not,' i.e., he appropriates the donation. Shortly afterwards they are dismayed to find their cash allowance reduced, they suffer a loss of six cash each a day, 'which affects us in a most serious manner. We shall be puzzled how to exist'. They were little above the line of bare existence, their personal possessions were extremely small. A few days later the diarist writes; 'The funeral service was this morning read over the late Lieut. Butler who was carried out as decently as the prison would admit of. The Killedar sent for the effects of the late Lieut. Butler, consisting of a few old rags. They took as much care in examining them, as if they had been of the utmost consequence'.

But already there was talk of peace. On November 15, 1783, Col. Braithwaite was seen passing the prison on his return from a visit to the Killedar. Forgetful of rank in the excitement of the hour, some one exclaims 'By God! there's Col. Braithwaite', and the words fall gratefully upon the Colonel's ears. He was asked what clothes and money was required for the prisoners, and made a reply that savours of the gentleman. To use his own words: 'I said that what the Nabob allowed me I would receive; if ten pagodas a day I would spend them, if ten cash I would live upon it. I would ask for no money, clothes I should be glad of'. But the talk of peace ended, and in December thirty-two men and two women who had been captured after their shipwreck were brought into the capital. The guards were doubled, and presently there was a rumour that all the prisoners were to be killed. Early in March they hear that peace is broken off, and that all are to be sent to Cabbaldroog, a change of residence that involves a still longer journey, according to the sinister fame of that droog. Thereupon they determine, if they are sent, to murder the guards and escape if possible; they believe that if they tamely submit they will all be poisoned. Again on March 7th, 1784, they learn that directions had been sent by Tippoo to murder all the English officers in the different prisons who would not take service; but that order was countermanded on his hearing that the commissioners of peace had set out for Madras.

On March 22 the irons were struck off from the legs of Baird, Monteith and Lindsay, and they were removed from the prison. The incident gave rise to the most gloomy forebodings, but the clouds were dissipated on hearing that all their irons were to be taken off next day. They at once settled to celebrate the occasion by a great feast, and ordered in sixty dozen plantains and a big chatty of sherbet. There was no sleep for any eyes that night, and this may have been the occasion of the singing of the song that so disturbed the Killedar, according to Wilks, 'My wife has taen the gee.' It was reported next

morning by the guards that the prisoners had spent the night singing of nothing but 'ghee'. The words fell on guilty ears, and the Killedar at once concluded that they knew of his malversations regarding the ghee of the fortress and intended to tell Tippoo, so he attempted to conciliate them by putting a good stock of it at their disposal.

On March 23 came the day of their release from their three and a quarter years of imprisonment. Their irons were struck off, and so eager were they to experience relief that men who had been unutterably patient for long could hardly help jostling and contending for an early turn. But for days they could not walk without accommodating their steps to their imaginary irons. They say: 'We could never get the idea of our being in fetters out of our heads. No effort of our minds, no act of volition, could, for several days, overcome the habit of making the short and constrained steps to which we had been so long accustomed. Our crippled manner of walking was a subject of laughter to ourselves as well as to others.' Being supplied with money through Col. Braithwaite they immediately rewarded the soldiers who had been friendly to them, and had helped them in small ways. The same evening they moved out to a little village two miles away on the north of the island, and there met our soldier prisoners, who received them 'with marks of affectionate joy and respect.' The released band made its way to the greater assembly at Hoskote, where they met released prisoners from all parts of Mysore. The Bangalore officers had received frequent supplies of money through friends at Madras, and they generously gave what they had to relieve the pressing wants of those who were less fortunate.

We turn now from this somewhat close and detailed view of life in one prison to speak more briefly of the connexion of other places in Mysore with British prisoners at this period. In some cases we can tell only of the numbers confined, or give only a few outward facts relating to those imprisoned there. Cabbal droog has been already mentioned, and we may tell at once what is known of the prisoners there. Cabbal droog stands thirteen miles to the South of Chennapatna, and is forty miles in a direct line east from Seringapatam. It is an almost bare rock, rising precipitously on three of its sides about 1,000 ft. above the surrounding country. The side that is approachable is difficult of ascent, and very little fortification was necessary to secure its natural strength. An intelligent villager who conducted the Rev. E. W. Thompson and myself over the hill showed us the place whence prisoners were hurled, and the hole in the rock where the 'yatha' was fixed which gave them a clean drop over the cliff face. He assured us that he could show us many human bones still in the jungles below. Mackenzie says that this was 'one of the Sultan's principal sites for exercising his inventiveness to inflict cruelties'. The news was received at Seringapatam by the officers imprisoned there, on October 5, 1783, that eighteen of General Matthews' officers imprisoned at Cabbal droog had been poisoned. The officer in charge

of the place, who had had much talk with his prisoners got himself removed when ordered to carry out the execution, but the officer commanding the soldiers' prison at Seringapatam was sent with urgent orders and forced to carry out the sentence, knowing that if he did not do so his own life would be added to the tale. The officers were poisoned with the juice of the milk-hedge. Two sepoys who were later attached to the officers' guard gave them the following account of the end of those brave men. 'The first he (the Killedar) called positively refused to taste the poison. The Killedar instantly ordered several Caffres to seize and tie him up to a tamarind tree. After being most severely flogged, he at last consented to drink the finishing draught. Many others were flogged and inhumanly treated, on account of their opposition. The sepoys observed that the scenes of distress, after the poison began to operate, were beyond description; some being perfectly insensible, others thrown into violent convulsions, and others employing the few minutes they had to live in committing themselves to God, and in embracing and taking a last farewell of their companions and friends. Immediately after the whole were dispatched, the armourers knocked off their irons, and their bodies were then thrown into a wood as a prey for tigers.'

Early in 1782 two Ensigns, Gordon and Brunton, with 100 soldiers, were sent from Seringapatam to Chitaldroog to be confined in the fort there. On the officers vigorously protesting against being manacled, and, on signing their parole, they were allowed bodily freedom, but the soldiers were still confined in irons. Later, because the officers were discovered writing a letter to be sent to Madras, they were confined in a small dark room, the door of which was allowed to be open only one hour a day. Early in 1783 their numbers were added to from the prisoners captured at Bednore, March 28, Forty men and three women were confined together in two small rooms under the most filthy and loathsome conditions. They were refused medicines, being informed, as at Seringapatam, that it was not desired they should live. At first even burial was refused to the dead, and the unfortunate prisoners were informed that they must dig the grave in their prison with their nails. But at length it was ordered that the body should be removed, a brief service was read, then the corpse was dragged away and thrown to the 'tigers and vultures'. The writer of the diary at Chitaldroog complains among other sorrows that 'immense swarms of rats, bugs, fleas and other kinds of vermin constantly disturb our nightly rest'. Singular, that as some clemency was shown to the Seringapatam prisoners on the occasion of the Dasara festival, so on Christmas Day the bazaarman at Chitaldroog was directed to bring an abundance of fruit, meat and vegetables for sale to the prisoners, who had their daily dole at their own disposal. The tale of their troubles ended within a year, but for many it was finished by death long before that date. On March 25, 1784, they were taken out of jail, and met other prisoners who had been separated from them when they were brought

here. It must be remembered that the diaries in each case give incidents in the life of one prison only, they are not comprehensive. Their joy at their release is thus described: 'This was a period of bliss of which the first monarch in the world might justly have envied us. We were so drowned in joy that for a while we forgot that we were still in the hands of the enemy'. That joy was tempered by the news that some soldiers were still kept back in the fort when the bulk of the captives set out on their long march to Hoskote, where they also thankfully received the generous gifts of their brother officers who had just been set free from jail in Bangalore.

Little can be given in detail of the experience of prisoners of war at Mysore. The reputation of the fort as the place of confinement of English prisoners was however made known to the British public in a little volume published by Gye of Bristol at the beginning of the century. It is thus described in that little book, which is very accurate in its statements so far as it can be checked by other authorities; 'During the war of 1783 the fort of this place was the living grave of many an unfortunate English officer, and the scene of many a foul and secret sacrifice, accomplished by poison, or deliberate assassination, of the prisoners sent thither for that purpose by the tyrant Sultan'. On how much detailed information the author bases this strong assertion we have no means of knowing. We know decisively that the three officers already named were sent here from Seringapatam, and were poisoned on February 26, 1783. Scurry mentions that, when he was sent to Mysore in 1784, he was informed by his guards that the prison in which he was confined was the same as that in which these officers met their end. At the end of December, 1783, all the European Mussalmans from Seringapatam were marched here, and sixty-seven of them were still here in the capacity of prisoner-soldiers in February, 1784. Many of them it is certain from other information never were released, despite the Mangalore treaty made in the following March.

Let us return to see how prisoners fared in favoured Bangalore. The unwounded officers were separated from their comrades after Colonel Baillie's catastrophe, and were sent direct to Bangalore. The record of the new arrivals at Seringapatam up to the following March does not include their names, and probably they continued in prison here. It was a great day in Bangalore when Colonel Baillie passed through as a prisoner, and five guns were fired to summon the people to see the great captive. Other prisoners received by Hyder from the French admiral were sent here in 1781, and in 1782 I find that the captors were able to select from the prisoners kept in Bangalore and the neighbourhood—Dodballapur was probably the place intended by one record as the place where several were confined for a few months—fifty-two young men aged between twelve and seventeen years, who were marched down to Seringapatam for initiation into Mohammedanism and training for the service of the State. Since they were able to find so

many youths between these ages, there must have been in the neighbourhood of Bangalore a large number of captives of all ages from whom the selection was made.

The place of their confinement in Bangalore is a question of great interest. Buchanan, writing of his visit to Bangalore in 1800, says of the Delhi Gate: 'In the buildings of this entrance is a dungeon, amply provided with all the horrors that usually attend such places'. Even if this be true, it does not necessarily follow that the small rooms in the upper part of one of the gate ways which are popularly considered and labelled as 'dungeons', were the quarters to which Buchanan refers. This certainly was not the place alluded to and incidentally described in the song that was composed by one of the officers just before their release. That is indicated as a 'shade' i.e. shed, a place that is flooded in the rains and insufferably hot in the summer; but we have no further indication in the song as to its site. In the latter part of their confinement the prisoners were allowed occasionally to visit one another in their respective prisons, a statement which at once indicates that there were several places of detention. Mackenzie, who was an officer in the force that captured Bangalore in 1791, only seven years after the removal of the prisoners and while memories were still fresh, writes in his history! 'On the frame of a door, in a wretched hovel adjoining this (Tippoo's) palace, the names of Gowdie and many other British officers were carved. Here these gentlemen had been closely confined in massy irons, cruelly insulted, and otherwise ill-treated during the former war'. Judging by the old pictures of the palace, such a hovel as was used as a prison must have been situated on the west side of the palace, as the east and other sides are clearly accounted for by open spaces or public buildings. The tradition that Captain Baird was made to draw water from the well to the west of the palace for the amusement of Tippoo's ladies may have some basis in the doings of the prisoners confined close by, who were obliged to draw their daily supply of water from the only well in the near neighbourhood.

In view of the large number of prisoners detained in Mysore it is most probable that such fortresses as Nundydroog, Devarayadroog, Hoskote and Kolar were used for the imprisonment of some of them. But I know of no literary reference to the presence of prisoners at any of these fortresses. We find only a chance reference to the large body of twenty officers and thirty soldiers who were confined in the lower fort or pettah at Savandroog, the great rock that can be seen twenty miles away to the west of Bangalore. The site and the tradition of their imprisonment have both been erased by time. But the prisoners must have been resident there some two or three years, for they were captured by Hyder Ali and were not released till March, 1784, when the treaty of Mangalore sounded the recall through the Mysore prisons. We know something of their emotions from the fact that Amin

Sahib, Tippoo's nephew, was sent to Savandroog at this time in disgrace and captivity. He tried to escape, was recaptured, tied hand and foot to a stake and thus exposed to the burning sun, and was at last strangled with a bow-string. This was done before the eyes of the British prisoners as an example and a warning of their fate should they attempt to escape.

Outradroog, or Hutridroog stands twelve miles further west from Bangalore beyond Savandroog. It was a very strong and well-defended fortress the complex of works can well be seen from the old contemporary drawing. Twelve members of the crew of the 'Hannibal,' who had been taken by the French in 1782, were handed over by Admiral Suffrein to Hyder and were sent by him to Outradroog. These twelve effected a daring escape down the precipitous north side of the droog one dark and rainy night, with no further damage than a few bruises and a broken arm among them. But they were discovered the following day by a cattle boy, and the young rascal set their enemies on their track. Being pursued, they separated, but seven were retaken, two managed to escape to British territory, and of three nothing more was ever heard. The recaptured were severely dealt with, and of the seven six died shortly afterwards. The survivor, Mr. Cadman, a middy, was converted to Islam and detained in various places until he was released by Earl Cornwallis in 1792, after ten years of suffering.

Huliyurdroog, or as the old English writers called it 'Ooliah Droog', lies sixteen miles due north of Maddur. The fortress was yielded to the British June 13, 1791, under promises of the security of private property and the protection of the garrison from slaughter. After securing the public property, thousands of cattle and large quantities of grain, the guns and tanks were destroyed, and the works were blown up or otherwise dismantled. A considerable number of captives, probably both European and Indian, were released from imprisonment here. Of these a contemporary writer says: 'Amongst a number of captives that were bound in chains of various constructions, at Huliyurdroog several who had their ankles fastened asunder by a heavy iron bar had from habit acquired a straddling amble, which when liberated they could not for a length of time alter or amend. Some from having been closely pinioned could move neither arm. Others had acquired a stoop, from which they were unable to stand erect. In short, as most of them had been confined in this wretched state for a period of about ten years, there were few, indeed, who had not lost the power of some limb or other'. Huliyurdroog, then, is another instance of a remote fortress to which the Mangalore peace brought no orders for enlargement, and the prisoners were kept in jail for still another seven weary years.

Scurry, whose narrative has been often referred to herein, charges the Commissioners of the Peace of 1784 with knowingly leaving not less than a hundred youths, officers and mechanics in the hands of Tippoo when the rest were marched away to British territory. He says that of these only nineteen

ultimately survived. He and the rest of his companions in misery expected to be put to death, and Whiteway represents that it was perhaps well that the case for their release was not pressed. He believes that rather than admit the detention of so many prisoners Tippoo would have given orders for the murder of them all. They continued in the military service of Tippoo; when Bangalore fell in 1791 they heard the news and were forced to dissemble their joy; at last a party of six effected their escape from Chitaldroog and made their way to British troops at Harihar.

The old regime of close confinement had been re-established at Seringapatam in the course of 1791, and there were many prisoners in captivity who eventually owed their release to the success and the spirited representations of Earl Cornwallis as he stood at the gates of the capital, his guns trained on the works and threatening the destruction of the fort. Mr. Chalmers and others taken at Coimbatore in November, 1791 were sent to Seringapatam, in defiance of the terms of their capitulation. 'He was confined', says his historian, 'for two months in a bullock stable, which resisted neither wind nor water, and on the wretched allowance of one measure of rice, with ten cash per day to maintain himself and family'. Again we read that from captured prisoners 'it was learnt that a number of Europeans were confined in an adjoining hovel (in Ganjam). A party for their release was immediately detached, and twenty-seven men, chiefly reduced by ill-treatment to a state most miserable and debased in nature were thus liberated from heavy irons.'

During this period up to 1792 there was with Tippoo a class of semi-prisoners, British deserters who had taken service with Tippoo, and who were more or less at liberty in the capital and elsewhere. 'Capt. White' professed to have experience of casting cannon. A furnace was built for him at considerable cost, but his first attempt resulted in the casting of half a gun only. His next effort produced a gun that no amount of chiselling would make straight, but he had the cheek to tell Tippoo that it would be a most useful weapon with which to shoot round corners. However, Tippoo saw through his man, and promptly stopped his attempts to produce cannon, and sent him to Bangalore to try his hand at making round shot. Smithy, a deserter from the Bengal establishment, had attained a very considerable knowledge of native medicine and gained a great reputation in the capital as a doctor. He seems to have been a man of great natural ability, but seems to have lacked the gift rightly to use his abilities. He greatly helped his countrymen both with medicines and with money, and is spoken of most affectionately by them in Scurry's narrative. But vaulting ambition o'erleaped itself and fell. He so won the confidence of the capital that he was appointed by the Governor as chief physician to the Harem, but there fell into an entanglement with one of the inmates that led to his banishment from the capital. He afterwards effected his escape, and with his characteristic kindness managed to take several other prisoners with him. It is to

be hoped that he was liberally dealt with when he came again under the British flag.

Green, a deserter with Smithy and a sharer of his fortunes as far as Seringapatam, emulated the achievements of his companion in medicine and also took up medicine. But Green was only the street quack as compared with the Harley Street physician. Nevertheless fortune favoured him, and one day most unexpectedly. He was on his way to visit some patients, and had prepared some strong purgative pills for their needs, medicines which were securely tucked into his ample Mahommedan turban. Now the Colonel commanding one of the regiments had a famous monkey, of which Green ought to have been more careful, since the monkey had a history. Memory came too late, for as he passed near the monkey's box that wily animal darted out, snatched off the turban and retired aloft to investigate it. The pills were found and promptly swallowed. Green stood by in the shade, for it was Friday and his head was newly shaved, waiting for a chance to secure again his turban. Presently the monkey was too ill to trouble about the turban, and Green seized it and went on his errand of healing. The Colonel was presently informed that his pet was very sick, and sent for Green to doctor him. Knowing the cause he was able to work a speedy cure, and made a clear gain of Rs. 10 out of the day's transaction, beside winning much gratitude from the officer and general fame in the town. A number of half-starved Europeans, deserters, were taken in Ganjam when our troops followed Tippoo's over the Cauvery toward the fort. Scurry who makes the foregoing statement, which probably refers to the same individuals whose rescue has already been described from a more historical standpoint, says that he does not know what Cornwallis did with them, whether he spared them or not. Whatever their ultimate fate, the life of a deserter in the service of Tippoo was so miserable that the officers in their own captivity write of them with the utmost pity, and almost invariably describe them as 'those unfortunate men'.

The last fortress of which we shall speak is Hosur, of old connected with Mysore, but transferred permanently to British territory in 1799. Three prisoners were in captivity here who were taken in one of the naval fights with the French off the Indian coast, and were detained until Cornwallis' approach to Bangalore in 1791. The fort was abandoned on the approach of the British under Major Gowdie in July, 1791, after the fall of Bangalore in the previous March. I quote the story of the three prisoners' fate in the words of Mackenzie, who marched with the detachment for the capture of Hosur. 'Piqued at the bold measures of Earl Cornwallis, and in order to prevent detection in false assertions, the British forces had advanced but a short way into Mysore when the Sultan issued a mandate for the assassination of three Europeans who had been prisoners in this fort for several years. The fact is too well authenticated to admit a doubt. A

manuscript written in the English language by one of the sufferers was found in the arsenal. It detailed carpenter's work which this unfortunate man had been necessitated to perform. His name was Hamilton. He had an intimacy with a companion of the other sex, from which a family sprung that naturally impelled him to every honest endeavour for their maintenance.

When the bloody mandate was about to be put into execution, the people surrounding the house of the Killedar, with prayers and lamentations entreated to spare the whole, but for the life of Hamilton they were clamorous. Besides the ties of a family and connexions, he had become perfect in their language; he improved the mechanics in their several occupations; his advice was the guide in all common transactions; he was umpire in matters of dispute; in short, as he dignified a superior understanding by a life perfectly harmless, he was universally known by the distinction of 'father'. Hamilton was for a time given to their entreaties; but the other two were beheaded with the sabre. His reprieve was of short duration. On the fall of Bangalore his doom was irrevocably fixed, and a special messenger, habituated to the scene, was forbid the Presence until he saw performed the murderous office. Their behaviour in death was distinctly told by witnesses nowise interested in colouring the narrative. It was manly and firm. After passing some minutes in fervent prayer, they bent forward, resting their hands upon their knees. The heads of the two former were severed from their bodies at the first blow, but with Hamilton it required repetition. Their graves were pointed out to several British officers. Their remains confirmed this relation and a lock of hair from each head, which is now in the writer's possession, will, when deposited in a British repository, contribute to stamp the appellation of 'tyrant' on Tippoo Sultan amidst thousands as yet unborn.

The Gazetteer of the Salem District adds to the story by telling of a visitor to Hosur in 1876 who noticed an uncommonly good pair of compasses in the hands of a local mason. On being questioned, the man stated that his father had received them as a present from the hand of a British prisoner in the fort, with whom he had long been friendly. Also that when the prisoner was killed his father had taken his body and that of a companion, and had had them buried in his own land. The graves were again opened at the instance of the collector, and the bones of a large and of a small man were found at the site indicated, but a third thigh bone was also discovered, the existence of which was a mystery to the exhumers who had heard of the death and burial of only two prisoners. Neither the officials nor the local landowner knew of the above-quoted story of Mackenzie, of which the remains of three bodies were a verification.

At the end of his lecture on the siege of Bangalore Mr. Thompson gave his audience some quotations from the prison song of Bangalore. We may

well close this lecture with a similar quotation from the pen of Lieutenant Thewlis, a most promising youth, who died in jail at Seringapatam.

Some fops of the place,
With scraps of dull lace,
Their old battered beavers bedeck.
Whilst patches of red,
Some their jackets bespread,
For want of a cuff or a neck.
In huge Moormen's slippers,
Not unlike Dutch skippers,
Some make a most grateful salaam.
Whilst some with their toes,
Sticking out of their shoes,
Trudge the jail of Seringapatam.

At breakfast your food,
Might not appear good,
Compared with your toast and your tea ;
Yet the praises I'll utter,
Of congee ² and butter,
Or hoppers ¹ well fried in good ghee.
We've thick sour tyre, ³
What can we desire,
And all for a golden fanam.
We've milk and we've rice,
And we've everything nice,
In the jail at Seringapatam.

For dinner we use,
The most delicate stews,
Serv'd up in a new-fashion'd style.
Yet when in a hurry,
Dispense with a curry,
Tho' sometimes we've roast and we've boiled.
No pinched pitty-patty,
Each man has his chatty
Of high-flavoured goat or of ram.
Then drinks in pure water
Wife, Mistress or Daughter,
The toast of Seringapatam.

¹ appams=cakes of rice flour.

² porridge.

³ curds.

Some sweet recreation,
 Each day in rotation,
 The sadness of each doth amuse.
 Nor like wise men of Gotum,
 Reject we tee-totum,
 Church marbles, or game of the goose,
 Some roar the loud song,
 'To Anacreon',
 More piously some raise a psalm.
 Some rattle the dice,
 Some catch rats and mice,
 In jail at Seringapatam.

Still thus let's disguise,
 Our sadness and sighs,
 Thus chase away chilly despair.
 Resigned to our woes,
 And the chains of our foes,
 Submit to the soldier's hard fare.
 Let's think each tomorrow,
 Must shorten our sorrow,
 Let hope serve instead of a dram,
 That freedom once more,
 May open the door,
 Of our jail at Seringapatam.

ESSAI SUR GUṆĀDHYA ET LA BRHATKATHĀ

BY

PROFESSOR FELIX LACOTE

(Translated by the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S.)

PART II.

THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE BRHATKATHA.

CHAPTER I

THE CASHMERIAN BRHATKATHA.

II

THE BRHATKATHAMANJARI

THE *modus operandi* of Kṣēmēndra in composing his 'Bouquet' has been very well explained by Mr. S. Levi.

'When he is narrating, Kṣēmēndra compresses, condenses, and substitutes to a lively, animated and dramatic original a dry and laconic narrative; when he has a chance of introducing some descriptive verses he avails himself of it without any regard for the general proportions.'¹ The fact then that some tales and some details are missing in the *Manjari* means nothing; that does not prove that they were not found in the Cashmerian *Brhatkathā* but simply that Kṣēmēndra has neglected them. As for the rare additions made by Kṣēmēndra to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* we shall notice them, if necessary, when we come across them, but they are of very little interest, as far as the object of our study is concerned, as they throw very little light on the history of the Cashmerian *Brhatkathā*.

It is useless to give a detailed analysis of the *Manjari*. It will be sufficient to examine the distribution of the subject-matter or the differences which a dissimilar arrangement must necessarily bring in the disposition of the narrative. As for what is common to both versions the critical remarks we have made on the *Kathāsaritsāgara* apply equally to the *Manjari*.

¹ S. Levi, La B. K. M. de Ksh., J. As., VIII s., VI, (1885) p. 419.

THE DIVISIONS OF THE BRHATKATHAMANJARI

Kṣēmendra's poem, like Somadeva's, is divided into eighteen '*lambhakas*' the names of which are the same as those of the corresponding Books in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Besides, we find in the *Brhatkathāmanjari* a double system of subdivision.

Most of the accessory tales and some of the principal episodes of the hero's history are followed by a colophon which resumes the substance of the tale—something like the marginal subtitles found in the translation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*—by Mr. Tawney. It is a kind of index of the several incidents found in the text, and it is most convenient for ready reference. This method of subdivision, being found in all the manuscripts of the *Manjari*, must be rather ancient. It is defective when the tales are contained one in the other for the last tale of the series begins much before the point where is noted down the end of the preceding tale: in this case but not invariably—it happens that the colophons of the interpolated tales warn us of the fact by the word *antar* for instance *ity antarākhyāyika* (ad 15, 240: ad 7, 336 mss. AC Levi 1. c., VII (1886), p. 184); *antarnalākhyāyika* (ad 15, 371 *antarē kusumāyudhākhyāyika* (in Book 10, Levi. 1. c. p. 186—though the latter is missing in the edition of the *Kāvya-māla*). The necessity to facilitate the use, of the text sufficiently explains the introduction of those colophons at a date very ancient. The process is uniform from the beginning to the end of the *Manjari*, but it is not, properly speaking, a division into chapters as the parts thus marked off, often overlap each other.

Books 1, 2, and 9 (*Çaçānkavatī*) are divided into '*gucchas*' (cluster): this word is explained by the meaning of the title *Manjari*. Yet, the first chapter of the first Book is called *taramga* at the beginning and *guccha* at the end¹ but the use made here of the term *taramga* cannot be due to anything else but to an analogy with the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (V. *supra*.) The second *guccha* of the first Book the first of the second the third and, perhaps, the first of the ninth bear a special title, *vararucimukiti*-, *shararaṅkika-çaçānkavatīvivāha* *pracaṇḍaçaktisamāgama*, respectively. (The last one is doubtful and it may simply be a colophon indicating the end of a *kathā*.)

Those divisions are rational and, contrary to those which have been mentioned previously, mark parts perfectly distinct in each Book. Why are they all not divided in the same way? It may be that those which present themselves as a 'block' have been regarded as a 'cluster'. That would be natural for several of them on account of their shortness. The edition of the *kāvya-māla* has at the beginning of several, *prathamō gucchaḥ*, without there being *dvityō-gucchaḥ*. But if Books 1, 2 and 9 which contain several '*gucchas*' are lengthy enough (392, 421 and 2435 respectively), others are as long and could be similarly divided. Besides, the twenty-five tales of the vampire (1435 verses) form only one '*guccha*' (the second one of Book 9);

¹ The edition of the *Kāvya-māla* bears so many traces of carelessness that those details ought to be collated in the several manuscripts.

the extract from the Pancatantra, which fills up the larger part of Book 16, has no other division but the colophons which give the names of the tales. Thus the division into 'gucchas' is not at all uniform. My conclusion is then that we cannot attribute it to the copyists or to Kṣēmendra. The former would have adopted a uniform process like the notation of the colophons at the end of each tale: the latter, if he had taken the trouble to divide each Book into chapters as Somadeva has done, would have, like Somadeva, adopted a division rational and uniform. The conclusion must be that, if the use of the word *gūccha* is peculiar to the Manjari the fact itself of a division is more ancient and that Kṣēmendra simply followed in that respect in the indications of his original. But one might say, this is to suppose that the original itself had no regular division, only enormous blocks of matter by the side of well divided Books. No doubt, and this is the reason, I believe, why, on that point, Somadeva has not followed his model, but has divided his work into 124 chapters, exactly as it pleased him. Were the Cashmerian *Brhatkathā* properly speaking, the work of only one author that hypothesis could not stand for a moment. But if it be a compilation of incongruous parts, it is natural that the original divisions should have been retained in the Books where they were found, and should be absent in those which had been condensed to excess as also in the lengthy pieces introduced in a block and at the same time as may have been the case with the *Pancatantra* and the *Vētālapāncavimṣatikā*. In this case, these divisions may have remained what they were in the original as has happened with the *Vētālapāncavimṣatikā* where each *vētāla* is numbered off by itself.

It is thus possible that in the division into 'gucchas', whatever the name may have been, we have a faint trace of primitive divisions anterior to the Cashmerian *Brhatkathā*, as Kṣēmendra and Somadeva have known it.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE 'BRHATKATHAMANJARI'.

B.K.M.				K.S.S.			
1.	Kathāpīṭha.	{	I	{	Kathāpīṭha.	I	1
2.	Kathāmukha.				Kathāmukha.		2
3.	Lāvāṇaka.				Lāvāṇaka.		3
4.	Naravāhanajanma.				Naravāhanadattajanana.		4
5.	Caturdārikā.	{	II	III	Caturdārikā.	V	5
6.	Sūryaprabhā.				Madanamañcukā.		6
7.	Madanamañcukā.	{	III	V	Ratnaprabhā.	VI	7
8.	Vēla.				Sūryaprabhā.		8
9.	Çaçāṅkavatī.	{	IV	{	Alamkāravatī.	IV	9
10.	Viṣamaçila.				Çaktiyaças.		10
11.	Madirāvatī.				Vēla.		11
12.	Padmāvatī.				Çaçāṅkavatī.		12
13.	Panca.	{	V	{	Madirāvatī.	VII	13
14.	Ratnaprabhā.				Panca.		14
15.	Almakāravatī.	{	VI	VII	Mahābhīṣeka.	(IV)	15
16.	Çaktiyaças.				Suratamanjari.		16
17.	Mahābhīṣeka.	{	VII	{	Padmāvatī.	(IV)	17
18.	Suratamanjari.				Viṣamaçila.		18

This table does not reveal the essential difference, the one which supplies the key to most of the others. All the Books, with the same name in both versions, are exactly similar to each other from beginning to end if we except some details which are without any importance for the composition. Only two—those of Vēla do not coincide. In Kṣēmēndra's poem the Book of Vēla is equivalent to 1^o the Book of Vēla of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*; 2^o the beginning of Book XIV of Somadeva (Panca) This is the knotty point of the problem.

But before going any further it is important to study again from the beginning the series of the Books in Kṣēmēndra's work.

As far as the fifth inclusive, the concordance of the two versions is perfect. There is, even in unimportant details no difference which cannot be explained easily by the literary *modus operandi* of Kṣēmēndra's save on one point of Udayana's history :

The nāga, thanks to whom he has become possessed of the wonderful lute, is called Kinnara. He helps Udayana to go down to the underground world and gives him his sister Lalitā who at once becomes again a vidyādhari (2, 1, 56—60).

The Book of Sūryaprabha follows immediately the fifth Book (Caturdārika), without any transition. As a matter of fact a transition would have been superfluous as we have already seen that the two books are introduced in the same way and contain both a narrative from a vidyādhara who had come to see his future Emperor and who answers this question : How can sovereignty over the Vidyādharas be obtained? We have nothing but praise for the order followed by Kṣēmēndra. It is altogether natural that those two books should be side by side. Their tone is very dissimilar, one being rather folk-lore, i.e. the other, which relates to the mighty struggle between the Gods and the Asuras, rather mythical and epic: this difference prevents them from overlapping. We shall blame Kṣēmēndra only for not having respected the grand manner of the Book of Sūryaprabha. Its tone, was no doubt unsuited to his talent; the book is altogether made up of narratives, it affords very few opportunities to display wit; the subject demands more of epic inspiration than of ingenuity and Kṣēmēndra has sacrificed it. While he devotes 263 verses to the preceding book he has only 245 verses for this one. With Somadeva the proportions are the other way; 820 verses for the fifth Book and 1,572 verses for that of Sūryaprabha. Nowhere does Kṣēmēndra's literary inferiority appear more manifest.

Then comes the Book of Madanamañcuka. In Somadeva's poem the solution of continuity is manifest. In Kṣēmēndra's it cannot be less, so far as the subject-matter is concerned, but if we consider only the form it is not so obvious. Kṣēmēndra neglects to warn us that from that very point it is Naravāhana himself who narrates his history at the invitation of the Rishis. He has nothing either on the childhood of the hero a part which dispenses

him from interrupting the narrative to say: *At this part of the story listen to what happened.* He begins by explaining that Rati, wishing to become incarnate in order to be able, under a human form, to find again Love incarnate in Naravāhana has elected to be the daughter of Kalingasēna. (7, 3 sq.). The rest follows as in Somadeva's. Let us simply notice some details, which have no influence on the composition, but which deserve to be noticed on account of the importance of the personage known as Madanamancuka. When Naravāhana is in the beautiful garden made by Somaprabha, Kalingasena herself brings her daughter to him. Somadeva notes down the detail but does not insist on it. In the Manjari, Kalingasena is anxious about the issue of this private interview engineered with great skill with the object of seducing the prince whom her daughter loves (7, 575-6); to ease her mind Gomukha relates to her a story about Yogananda (7, 578-83), story which is missing in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. It makes it look as if Naravāhana is more sought after by Madanamancuka than seeking after her. This does not fit in with the rest of the episode but it fits in very well with the other gallant adventures of the hero, who never makes love himself but who lets others make love to him. Somadeva has toned down this detail which is no doubt a mark of good taste if not of accuracy. The rest of the book is too much condensed by Kṣēmendra. Details scattered here and there by Somadeva, in which we might suspect remnants of whole chapters of the primitive, *Bṛhatkathā*, have completely disappeared—for instance the excursion to the wood of Nāgavana. But, and this is more serious, of real improbabilities, for instance Udayana's hesitation to sanction the wedding of his son, no trace is left. Just now we were accusing Somadeva of having toned down a shocking episode. Here it is Kṣēmendra whom we must accuse of having altered his model, for we cannot admit that the inconsistent details have been invented by Somadeva.

There is no link between the seventh Book and the following one but there is no fault to be found with the place where we have the eighth Book (Vēla). It contains an adventure, short and human-like, and consequently there is nothing to say against the place it occupies at a period when Naravāhana has hardly yet experienced anything that is miraculous in his life.

In Somadeva's the group Vēla-Panca is altogether unconnected. In Kṣēmendra's the subject-matter is presented in such a way as to avoid the essential improbabilities we meet with in Somadeva's Books of *Cacankavati* of *Madirāvati* of *Paḍmavati* and of *Viṣamaçīla*. In those books we saw the hero lamenting the loss of Madanamancuka at a time when she had not been taken away from him. Consistency, we contended, demanded that the adventures contained in those four books—an exception being made for the accessory tales which could find place anywhere—should be placed after the beginning of Book 14 *Som* (Panca) Kṣēmendra's version shows that we were right. At the end of the Book of Vēla, after that part corresponding to the

same Book in Somadeva's we read the account of Madanamancuka's disappearance (8, 68-75) corresponding to K.S.S. 14, (cv), 3-13. Whether Kṣēmendra or the Cashmerian *Brhatkathā* be responsible for this disposition we can discern herewith perfect clearness the trace of a cold-blooded operation. Very often, it is true, the Books are very badly put together but they never overlap. They all begin and end with a distinctive adventure or at least with an episode which forms a whole by itself. In Kṣēmendra's the only exception is the Book of Vēla. Madanamancuka's disappearance, which is the last episode of the Book, is separated from its immediate consequences: commenting remarks on that strange event and searches made in the palace and the garden. These particulars are, as in the work of Somadeva, at the beginning of the Book (Panca) which comes five books later on. In fact it was impossible to link them with the Book of Vēla for they give an occasion for Vēgavatī's adventure which cannot itself be separated from the subsequent adventures. Had the author been more daring he would have split up completely Book 13 (Panca) to make it a framework for the history of Naravāhana, from his first marriage to his coronation. That would have added enormous strength to the composition but in that case most of the Books would have had to be remodelled and divided up in a different way. The author has not been daring enough. If it be Kṣēmendra who has followed faithfully his original we have a chance of going beyond the Cashmerian *Brhatkathā* and to form an idea of the several alterations due to the Cashmerian compiler.

When Madanamancuka is carried off it is strange that her husband does not search for her longer than he does but at least there is no absurdity in representing him heartbroken at her loss. That makes the Book of Çaçankavatī more likely. That of Viṣamaçīla follows in a natural sequence. In his wanderings on Mount Malaya the hero comes across Piçangajaṭa and afterwards meets another hermit, Kaṇva, who narrates to him the story of Vikramāditya.¹

There is nothing to be said about the Book of Madirāvati which comes without any difficulty after that of Viṣamaçīla. At the end of the Book, Naravāhana returns to Kauçāmbi with his friends and is always sighing for Madanamancuka. It is here we have the Book of Padmāvati (the story of

¹ One of the parts of that story (fragment of the tales on Kesata and Kandarpa) is inserted in the Book of Çaçankavatī. (9 III, 11-63). As it breaks off in an absurd way the thread of the narrative, it seems certain that there has been an interpolation. On the other hand, there is a gap, which has been noted by the editors 10, 241-256, in the very same tale of Kesata and Kandarpa. Perhaps it is that one or two leaves of the archetype of the manuscripts used by the editors have been mixed up. Their edition not being a critical one, it is impossible to say: 1° How that gap has happened? 2°, whether there has been a real interpolation or only a material error in the numbering of the one or two leaves of the manuscripts; the latter hypothesis is the most probable one.

Brahmadatta and the swans, containing that of Muktakētu and of Padmāvati and related by Gomukha to help his master to be patient).

In short, the difference in composition in the two versions is so far very clear, and we well understand why the order followed by Kṣēmēndra is the better of the two. He is not guilty of the monstrous improbability which has grated upon us in Somadeva's poem. Besides, instead of placing two Books in an appendix, he has left them in the body of the poem, at a place, where, according to the order of time, the stories they contained were likely to be told to the hero. But why has not Somadeva adopted a plan so superior to his own? Whether that plan be the work of the Cashmerian compiler or of Kṣēmēndra, Somadeva must have known it. What was then his objection to it?

Let us proceed. Between the 12th and the 13th Book (Panca) the solution of continuity is obvious; it is even inevitable that it should be more so than in the Kathāsaritsāgara between Madirāvati and Panca. The author attempts to explain rather late in the day, the causes of Madanamancuka's disappearance. The rest follows as in Somadeva's. But we are at a point when the narrative is well knit together; this has no interest for Kṣēmēndra: 236 verses are enough—for that Book, though in it almost every detail is of importance. In Somadeva's it already looked like a skeleton; how much more so in Kṣēmēndra's!

Now, we have come to the end of our praises for the composition of the Manjari. From the 14th Book, the Kathāsaritsāgara gets again the upper-hand in a striking manner. Kṣēmēndra has to face an insurmountable difficulty but he does not make the slightest attempt to overcome it. We have before us the Books of Ratnapraba, Alankāravati. The place they occupy is altogether unacceptable.

The 13th Book (Panca) had ended with Naravāhana's victory over Mānasavēga; the conqueror is the master of the Southern plateau of the Himalaya, that is of half of the Empire of the Vidyādhara; he has now but to wrench from Mandaradeva the Northern half. This conquest will form the subject-matter of the coronation (Mahābhīṣeka, 17 Ks). It is evident that those two Books should not be separated from each other and that Somadeva is right in putting them side by side. In mentioning the seven jewels at the end of the former he gets hold of a very reasonable transition (which naturally is missing in Kṣēmēndra's) and the two Books form a perfect whole, real connected poem, with few or no digressions, poem which gives us an account of the larger part of Naravāhanadatta's career. In the Manjari, those two Books are separated by three others and that at the price of an enormous improbability. It is necessary that Naravāhana, already acknowledged as Emperor by the majority of the Vidyādhara, in the midst of his conquests and on the eve of final success, should abruptly interrupt his expedition and return to live at Kauṣāmbi (13,236).

He takes again an inferior position in his father's house and lives as in the time of his first youth. It is not he who commands (cf. 14, 86: he must have his father's permission to accept Hēmaprabha's invitation), nor he who decides the law suits (16, 2). Now and then his father invites him to accompany him as a follower and to go hunting with him (14, 409) there is nothing that reminds us that he is the Cakravartin. Improbabilities abound in each episode. Ratnaprabha comes down from heaven to wed him and wishes to take him to one of the cities of the Vidyādhara: 'ācaryam' they all exclaim as though he had never had more extraordinary adventures or as if he were not the master of the Vidyādhara's country. Then the Cakravartin starts on a discovery expedition with only Gomukha in search of the 'Camphor country'. (14, 418 sq). He is overjoyed to reach that country and to return home in a flying chariot with young Karpūramanjari who, after all, is only a mere woman. (14, 503 sq.) None of the episodes which serve as a pretext for the tales in the two following Books (Alamkāravatī and Çaktiyacas) fits in with that part of the hero's history where we find them, save perhaps, the visit to Vishnu (15, 195-201 and also the *Nārāyaṇastuti*) and the reason is that the account of a mere visit could have been placed anywhere.

Why then has not Kṣēmendra inserted those three Books sooner? Of course, he could not do it between, Caçākavati and Panca. All that part supposes: 1° Madanamancukā lost 2° Naravāhanadatta wandering on Mount Malaya where he has been carried by Lalitalōcanā. The three Books in question would, with great difficulty, meet the first of these conditions but they cannot possibly satisfy the second one. There was still the possibility of imitating Somadeva and of inserting them between the Book of Madanamancukā and that of Vēla. That order was far from being perfect, as we have remarked when speaking of the Kathāsaritsāgara, but it was certainly more so than that adopted or followed by Kṣēmendra. Great talent was not required to find it, provided one were willing to take a little trouble. Kṣēmendra either through indolence, or contempt of any exertion which had not style alone for its object, has disdained to take that trouble. My conclusion is that he had nothing to do with the arrangement of the previous books, for it is impossible to believe that he who here is so negligent could have been in the first 14 books so careful of logical sequence.

In my opinion he has simply followed the composition of the original. This observation is of great importance; it shows that the original must have been incoherent. But incoherence is never wilful; if then the author of the Cashmerian Brhatkathā has not been able to avoid being incoherent, it must have been that he had to overcome difficulties similar to those which have proved a 'pierre d'accroissement' for his imitators.

The Book of the Coronation (Mahābhīṣeka) is condensed to excess (15 verses). Naravāhana lives quietly at Kauçāmbi perfectly oblivious of his

power and of his dominion. Amṛtaprabha comes for him, sent by Vāmadēva who is anxious to reveal to him where the seven jewels are hidden. The rest follows as in the Kathāsaritsāgara, but reduced to a mere skeleton.

At last comes the Book of Surātmanjari, which brings the whole to an end and which is still less interesting than in Somadeva's. It is pretty well developed as far as the accessory tales are concerned, but for the rest it gives us only what is absolutely necessary. The end of the Manjari, like the end of the Kathāsaritsāgara, leaves on the mind an impression of utter confusion.

The *upasamhāra* which follows contains, before the list of the several books, an index, in the form of a summary, which is extremely fantastic. It is Naravāhana himself who with his own lips endowed with a poetical virtue by the grace of Śiva, relates his own adventures in a gorge of Black Mount to Kaçyapa, his uncle, the munis and their wives.¹

Those verses are in perfect conformity with those with which Somadeva begins his 6th Book (*vide* p. 77). The summary which follows begins with the mention of Book 5 and ends with that of Book 17, that is, it does not comprise either the Kathāpīṭha or the Books on Udayana or the Book of Surātmanjari, which, as we have already seen, could never have been among the stories narrated by the *cakravatin*. As for Books 5 and 17 it reproduces faithfully the order of the Manjari. I do not know who is the author responsible for this summary but there is no doubt but that he has some other source of information than the Manjari. He knows that the body of the Brhatkathā is the account given by Naravāhana to Kaçyapa of his own adventures. He is careful not to omit this circumstance though there is no trace of it in the version of which he gives us, an index of contents. Perhaps, is he anxious to complete the Manjari on that point in replacing the narrative in the traditional framework which, Kṣēmendra has set aside? If Kṣēmendra himself is the author of the *upasamhāra* (it contains in its third section interesting details about the poet and his family) we cannot but conclude that, being conscious of having been inaccurate and lamenting the fact he has done his best to make up for it at least in the index of contents.

From all that it looks as if L. von Mankowski² was right when he surmised, from the indication supplied by the study of Book 16 alone, that, by reason of the evident levity shown by Kṣēmendra in his work—schoolboy exercise or at best a beginner's first attempt—it was not probable that he had altered the order of the subject-matter. The Brhatkathāmanjari seems to reproduce exactly the composition of the Cashmerian brhatkathā with all its defects. When Kṣēmendra attempts to hide the incoherence of his model it is only by cunning contrivances which do not touch the substance. On the contrary Somadeva would seem to have attempted to improve the plan.

¹ Upasamhara 1-3; 20-21.

² Der Auszug aus den Pancatantra in Kṣēmendra's Brhatkathāmanjari p. IX.

How can we then explain that the order followed by Kṣēmendra is, in a large portion of his work, better than that followed by Somadeva? We shall answer the question when we study the composition of the Cashmerian Brhatkathā itself. So far, none of the hypotheses as suggested on the Cashmerian Brhatkathā by the study of the Kathāsaritsāgara has been weakened by a study of the Manjari. On the contrary, several of them have been confirmed by it. If those suppositions be correct the Cashmerian original cannot be a work composed by one author, forming a consistent whole, but a collection, devoid of unity, of Books differing in length, origin and tone, which has already been the object of an attempt at co-ordination, clumsy attempt, it is true, though, as Somadeva has not succeeded in rectifying it entirely, it may be that that clumsiness could not be well avoided.

Let us try now to throw some more light on that chaos so that we may look for and perhaps find, more or less mutilated, the *disjecta* of the original Brhatkathā.

REVIEWS, EXTRACTS, Etc.

Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems.¹

BY SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR

THIS work is a contribution to the religious history of India by the veteran Orientalist Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and constitutes one of the many useful volumes of the series called 'Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research' planned and carried out in part by the late G. Bühler and F. Kielhorn. Dr. Bhandarkar divides the work into two parts, part I Vaiṣṇavism, and part II Śaivism and minor systems. He regards both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism as offshoots of the Bhakti School more or less having their basis upon the Upanishads and even pre-Upanishadic speculations, developing therefrom into separate systems. He takes Vaiṣṇavism at least from the 5th century before Christ, and regards it as a religious reform like Buddhism and Jainism but based on theistic principles unlike the two former. Its early name according to him was Ekānthika Dhārma or the religion of a single-minded love and devotion to the One. It had for its background the Bhagavad Gīta and assumed a sectarian form called the Pāñcharātra of the Bhāgavata religion. It came to be professed by a tribe of Kṣatriyas of the Sātvata sect and was noticed by Megasthenes about the end of the 4th century B.C. as the religion of such a specific people. 'This faith mingled itself with the existing faith in Nārāyaṇa, the fountain from which all men have sprung and with that in Viṣṇu his traces visible in the world, and who at the same time had a mysterious nature.' Dr. Bhandarkar further considers that in the Bhagavad Gīta itself in addition to this, there are some of the teachings of Upanishads and a few at least of the doctrines of two other philosophical systems, the Sāṅkya and Yōga, which according to him however had not yet assumed the character of definite systems. He believes with J. Kennedy and others that this got mixed up with the system of religion imported into India by the Ābhīras or cowherds, a foreign tribe. This is the worship of Krishna who from a mere shepherd boy came to be regarded as a God immediately after the beginning of the Christian era. Thus constituted according to the learned Doctor 'Vaiṣṇavism went on till the end of about the 8th century when

¹ *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research.*

the doctrine of the spiritual monism and world-illusion was promulgated and disseminated by Śankarachārya and his followers.' Śankara's teachings were considered destructive of Bhakti or love to a personal God and there naturally grew up a school of opposition which found its exponent in Rāmānuja in the 11th century. Rāmānuja was followed by Nimbārka who gave prominence to the cowherdess element of Vaiṣṇavism and joy in the worship of Krishna's mistress Rādhā also, Rāmānuja having passed them over in silence. The attacks on spiritual monism however were continued by Madhva or Ānanda Tīrtha in the 13th century establishing the doctrine of pluralism and bringing into prominence the name of Viṣṇu as the supreme God. In the north however, Rāmānanda gave a new turn to Vaiṣṇavism by bringing in the name of Rama while Rāmānuja from whom his metaphysical doctrines are derived laid particular stress on the name Nārāyaṇa. Rāmānanda's teachings were all in vernacular and are referable to the 14th century A.D. He was followed in the next century by Kābīr who condemned idolatry and preached strict monotheism, his God being Rama. Vallabha followed in the 16th century with his worship of young Krishna and Rādhā; while Chaitanya about the same time promulgated the worship of grown-up Krishna who was for ever associated with Rādhā and idealised into an image of pure love. It is this conception in its ultimate degenerated form that led to the degradation of Vaiṣṇavism in the north. In the Mahratta country Nāmdev, perhaps in the 14th century, and Tukāram in the first half of the 15th century preached the worship of Viṭoba in Pandarpūr and cultivated a more sober line of devotion. Also he made use of the vernacular for the dissemination of their ideas. These along with Chaitanya and Kabir, condemned formalism in religion and preached pure love of God. 'The two Mahratta saints and Kabir also laid particular stress on the purification of the individual's heart and moral elevation as a means to a single-minded and devoted love of God and as necessary for the attainment of Eternal Bliss'.

In the words of Dr. Bhandarkar 'the points of contact between these various Vaiṣṇava systems are that their spiritual elements are essentially derived from the Bhagavadgīta, that Vāsudēva as the name of the Supreme Being stands in the background of all, and that spiritual monism and world-illusion are denounced by them equally. The differences arise from the varied importance that they attach to the different spiritual doctrines; the prominence that they give to one or other of the three elements that were mingled with Vāsudēvism; the metaphysical theory that they set up; and the ceremonial which they impose upon their followers. The Bhagavadgīta was supplemented in later times by the Pāncarātra Samhitas and the Purāṇas such as the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, and other later works of that description. These occasionally elucidated some of the essential doctrines, laid down the ceremonial and brought together a vast mass of legendary

matter to magnify the importance of other special teachings and render them attractive.'

Coming to Śaivism, Dr. Bhandarkar regards it as even older than Vaiṣṇavism as a sect and traces it to the conception of the God Rudra the terrible Howler with his Ganas called Rudras or Rudriyas typifying the fearful destructive phenomena of Nature. When propitiated this God assumed aspects either of the 'auspicious Śiva, the beneficent Śankara or the benignant Śambhu.' In the further development of this conception Rudra became the God of wild and awful scenes such as cemeteries, mountains and forests, and became the favourite God of the beasts and savages that dwelt in the forests and of the thieves and outcasts who haunted them. Subsequently Rudra developed into the God that pervades the Universe, who lives in fire and water, in all beings and in herbs and in the trees, thus being exalted as the supreme ruler of all. When the development of the conception attained this stage Rudra became the subject of the Upanishidic speculation, meditation upon whom and the recognition of his immanence in the Universe led to the attainment of blissful serenity in man. Notwithstanding the development of the milder aspect of Śiva-Rudra the wild and awful side of nature rather than get effaced went on developing simultaneously. So much so that when religious schools such as that of Pāṇcharātra came to be established another one with Rudra or Pāśupata as the God to be adored was set up also. Its founder was a man who came to be known as Laguṭin or Laguḷin, the holder of a club and Laguḷīśa or Naguḷīśa the Lord, the holder of the club. Pāṇcharātra was the title of the work ascribed to him and his system came to be in vogue by the name Pāśupata. Two schools of extreme Śaivism developed out of these as also one very much more moderate known by the general name Śaiva. Traces of these schools have been found from about the 2nd century after Christ to the 12th. The repulsive nature, however, of the two extreme schools and the wild and fantastic character of the other two that developed out of these led to a reaction and in the beginning of the 9th century there came into existence the first Kashmir school, and in another century another. These Śaivatic schools were very sober in their doctrines and practices and may be considered to have been influenced by the school of Śankara though an escape from his severe spiritual monism has been provided for 'so as to allow of an individual existence to the delivered soul'. About the middle of the 11th century another reform was effected by the founding of the Lingāyat school. In the words of the learned Doctor 'the philosophical doctrines of the school amount to this :—that God is infinite intelligence and joy, is the creator of the world and the instructor and redeemer of mankind, and that the individual soul attains to a unity of blissful experience with him by gradually estranging himself from the world, pursuing a course of divine worship, abandoning himself to God and seeing Him in everything. This philosophy seems to

have been influenced by the tenets of the school of Ramanuja.' Starting as a combative community they set up as a distinct sect from those that owed their origin to the Brahmanic system. All through the course of this development, however, the worship of Rudra-Śiva prevailed among the ordinary people regardless of the doctrines of these schools.

Śiva was always associated with his consort Pārvati or Umā with a beneficent and majestic character as alluded to in the Kēna Upanishad. But just as an original element contributed to the formation of the character of Rudra-Śiva so also an original element of a mere descriptive nature came to be combined with his consort and she became a terrible goddess that had to be appeased by animal and even human sacrifices. 'But since the lustful nature of man is very strong in him, that goddess in the name of Tṛpurasundari (the beauty of the three cities) or Lalita (sportively graceful) became the creator of the world, and was also worshipped with debasing and sensual rites; and thus came in the school of Śaktas who looked forward to an identity with Tṛpurasundari as the goal of their existence.' Gaṇapati as the leader of a host was of course connected with Rudra-Śiva. This idea however became mingled with the idea of Vināyaka and evil spirit that possessed men and thus the combined God Gaṇapati-Vināyaka became an object of worship on the principle that an obstructive and evil spirit should be first propitiated before beginning an action. Thereafter he became the special God of six minor sects one of these holding doctrines as debasing as those of the Śakti cult. Skanda was more closely connected with Śiva as the lord of one of his Gaṇas or groups and afterwards came to be believed the son, and his worship prevailed for several centuries from the time of Patanjali downwards, and has not become obsolete even at the present day. The Sun was worshipped in early times and became an object of sectarian worship some time later. About the third century after the Christian era another cult of the sun was introduced from Persia. It took root on Indian soil and prevailed for a long time in north-western India, a good many temples having been erected from time to time for his worship. A special caste of priests of the name of Magas was associated with the cult and the masses of the Hindu population adopted it as if it had been indigenous to the country.

It is impossible to give an idea of the vast subject in comparatively brief summary. Even Dr. Bhandarkar's book of about 170 pages lacks the fullness that a subject of this technical character would demand. As has already been pointed out in respect of a prominent instance in a previous issue (Vol. IV., page 169,) of this Journal there are weak points in the historical argument of Dr. Bhandarkar's thesis, particularly where he gets to deal with the development of these various religious systems in the farther south. There are also points, such as the worship of the child Krishna, which the learned Doctor has adopted rather too readily from western scholars. Notwithstanding

these the work is a monument of learning and deserves to be carefully studied by those interested in the History of Hinduism. We owe the Oxford University Press an apology for some considerable delay in reviewing this work but the important character of the subject and heavy official work would, we hope, be accepted as adequate explanation of the somewhat belated review.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Vol. I, Part i.—We heartily welcome to the ranks of antiquarian and research journals issued in this country the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. The Society was formed only last year and it speaks very well indeed of its earnestness of purpose when we have within a short time of its actual formation a journal so well made up as the one under review. The Province to which its pages will from now be devoted is one rich in antiquarian lore; it is teeming with historical monuments; and it is besides, a ground deserving of explanation as well from the anthropological standpoint. The need for a society of the kind now formed must have been a felt want for many years in the region of India in which it has been started now, and it ought to be matter for congratulation for all interested in antiquarian research in this country that one has at last been formed in it, so soon after the formation of the Province itself. Needless to say that such a society could only be maintained by the whole-hearted work of its members and associates, and by the generous response that it secures to itself from the Government of the Province. In both these respects, the Bihar and Orissa Society appears to be well supported. A glance through the page containing the *personnel* of the Society shows that it counts amongst its officers and helpers all the leading officials and non-officials in the Province. More than this it has secured to itself the services of the best workers in the fields of history, archæology and numismatics, anthropology and folklore, and philology. The local government, too, has done what it could for the success of the work for which the Society has made itself responsible. For instance, we note in the printed report of the Proceedings of a meeting of the Society held on 15th August last that the local Government has promised in response to an application from the Society (1) to purchase 100 copies of the Society's Quarterly Journal at an annual cost of Rs. 2,000; (2) to make an annual contribution of Rs. 3,000 in aid of Ethnographic research; and (3) to construct at Government expense a suitable building for a Provincial Museum and Library in which the offices of the Society are to be located. This is, we think, tangible aid rendered to the Society, and we trust that other Governments and Administrations will make a note of this and help forward research work in their areas in the same commendable good spirit as is done by the Government of Mysore and that of Bihar and Orissa.

We would add a few words about the contents of this issue of the

Journal. It is, we may say, a thoroughly representative number—representative of the activities of the Society, and of the men who are among its chief workers in different fields of research. The number opens with a brief but very suggestive article by Dr. D. B. Spooner on the Bodh Gaya *plaque* found by him at Pāṭalīputra in 1914. The plaque is a most interesting pilgrim souvenir of a date anterior to fifth century A.D. It gives us some idea of the old temple at Gaya as it was before Fa Hien's time. Then follow half a dozen articles on Anthropological research contributed by the Rev. Father J. Hoffman, S.J., the Hon'ble Rev. A. Campbell, D.D., and Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A. The last of these has four articles to his credit and all of them indicate that he has caught the true spirit of a research worker in the ethnographic field. Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E., follows with a succinct account of the work that has been so far done in regard to search for Sanskrit manuscripts. This shows how much yet remains to be done. We are glad to note that Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri insists on the work being more and more undertaken by regular officers deputed to do it and not as hitherto by 'over-worked officers of Government.' Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law, next contributes a scholarly article of the Saiṅunāka and Maurya Chronology and the date of the Buddha's Nirvana. He incidentally shows that the Puranas are well worth more careful sifting than has hitherto been given them. We incline to the belief that his paper is a model of close reasoning on Chronological questions teeming with difficulties. Rai Sahib Chum Lal Roy, B.A., next follows with an interesting note on the ruins at Majhgoan, Thana Chanipur, Ranchi District. It shows, by the way, the increasing interest that educated Indians are giving to the study of the antiquities of this country. Prehistoric archæology is represented by four brief but suggestive contributions from the pen of Mr. J. Coggin Brown, M.Sc., F.G.S., Palæontologist, Geological Survey of India. The first two of these relate to copper celts found in the United Provinces and the third to pottery of a fine type found in the same province. Mr. Brown's remarks on the former are extremely interesting but too long to quote here. Whatever the case might have been in Southern India, Upper India had a copper age of its own. The pottery specimens are all of a type which show that not only that the potters' art was understood exceedingly well in those days in India but that it was practised to a degree that made possible work of a particularly pleasing kind. Much sporadic work in the field of prehistoric archæology has been done in widely different parts of India during the past sixty years and more. The results of this work show that there is much to be learned by a more detailed study of this branch of archæology proper. The need for a genuine prehistoric survey was never more urgent than it is to-day, and it is to be hoped that the various societies interested in this neglected field of research will make a joint effort to get

such a survey as the one proposed started as soon as may be after the war has been pushed to a successful close.

Before concluding this short review of the first issue of the Bihar and Orissa Society's *Journal*, we wish our sister-Society every success in the work that she has so well started. The field is a vast one and we have no doubt that both Government and people will help to forward the arduous labours awaiting her.

The following note is from Captain H. F. Murland of the 64th Pioneers and is published in continuation of the correspondence published in Vol. VI, No. 2, pages 147-154 of this Journal.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

Editor.

BANGALORE,
16th January, 1916.

DEAR MR. RICHARDS,

The following is another reference to Col. Cuppage, but unfortunately I do not know whether it was Adam or the other one.

Yours sincerely,
H. F. MURLAND.

In 1800 the Raja of Bullum, Kistnappa Naik, who had occupied one of the passes between Canara and Mysore and had long resisted authority, took up a strong stockaded position in the dense forest at Arsakhera, where he repulsed one attack made upon him in April and was defeated in a second. In January, 1802, Colonel Wellesley marched against him, he having occupied the same stockades again. The attacking force was divided into three portions, the centre attack being commanded by Lieut. Colonel Cuppage, and was completely successful. The Raja was captured on the 9th February, and executed on the same day with six of his followers.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, in India and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.
4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretaries, Branch Secretaries, an Editor, and seven other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.

Any four of the above members to form a quorum.
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Membership is open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

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8. Members may obtain, on application to the Secretary, invitation cards for the admission of their friends to the lectures.
9. The Annual General Meeting will be held in July.
10. Framing and alteration of Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

F. R. SELL,
Honorary Secretary

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The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. VI.]

[No. 4

MAGADI AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

BY

R. NARASIMHACHAR, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S.

MĀGADI, the head-quarters of the taluk of the same name, is situated about twenty-nine miles to the west of Bangalore. It was the capital of a line of chiefs known as the Yalahanka-nāḍu-prabhus or rulers of the Yalahanka district or province, almost all of whom had the designation Kempe Gauḍa, from about the close of the sixteenth century to A.D. 1728 when it was captured by the Mysore Dalavāy or General Dēva-rājaiya. Yalahanka, identified with this family of chiefs, is about ten miles to the north of Bangalore. It is a place of some antiquity, being referred to as Ilaippākka in the Chōḷa, and Elahakka in the Hoysaḷa, inscriptions. On the capture of Māgaḍi in A.D. 1728 the then chief was carried prisoner to Seringapatam and the line came to an end.

Māgaḍi which is written as Māguḍi in the old inscriptions of the place, is said to be a corruption of Māṇḍavya-kuṭi or the hermitage of Māṇḍavya, a sage who, according to the Puranic account of the place, had his *āśrama* or hermitage here and worshipped the god Ranganātha at Tirumale, a village about a mile to the east. It has a small fort, now in ruins, said to have been built by Kempe Gauḍa, in which is situated a temple dedicated to Rāmēśvara, his family god. The ruins of his palace are pointed out to the south-west of the temple. It appears that all the public offices of the taluk were once held in this fort. The Rāmēśvara temple consists of a *garbhagṛiha* or adytum, a *sukhanāsi* or vestibule, a *navaranga* or a central hall and a front veranda. The *prākāra* or enclosure has on the west several cells enshrining *lingas* besides one containing a four-handed standing figure of Pārvati set up

recently. The vestibule has a well-carved Nandi or bull, the vehicle of Śiva. The *utsava-vigraha* or metallic image of the god is a fine figure flanked by two consorts known as Gangā and Parvatavardhani, i.e., Pārvati, though usually only one consort is seen in Śiva temples. Near it is kept a metallic figure of what is known as Astra-mūrti, a small trident standing on a pedestal, which is used on the occasion of the car and other festivals just as the *bali-bēra* or a small metallic image of Viṣṇu is used in Viṣṇu temples. To the right of the entrance to the central hall are good figures of Gaṇapati and Virabhadra, and to the left, in a shrine, stands Pārvati, the goddess of the temple, about four feet high, with four hands. In this shrine are also kept the metallic images of the ruined Sōmēśvara temple to which we may now direct our attention.

The Sōmēśvara temple, situated about one and a half miles to the west of Māgadi, is one of the largest structures in the Dravidian style of architecture, measuring about ninety yards by seventy yards, with a *prākāra* or enclosure, two *mahādvāras* or outer entrances and several fine *mantapas* or halls. It is now in ruins, though built so recently as the early part of the eighteenth century by Mummaḍi Kempavīra Gauḍa or Kempavīra Gauḍa III. Of the two outer entrances, which are on the north and south, the southern one, which is bigger than the other, is surmounted by a lofty *gōpura* or tower which was damaged some years ago by a stroke of lightning. A fine *mantapa* to the left of the temple is known as Kempe Gauḍa's *hajāra* or hall, and another to the right, as the dancing girls' *hajāra*. The former had once scenes from the Purāṇas painted on the inner walls and ceiling, of which only a few faint traces are now left. On one of the pillars of the front veranda of the other hall is sculptured a figure, about one and a half feet high, of an old man wearing a cloak and leaning on a staff. This is said to represent the original Kempe Gauḍa, the progenitor of the family of the Yalahanka chiefs. The central hall of the temple has a pretty good ceiling supported by four pillars which are well sculptured on all the sides with figures of animals, etc., some of the panels showing ingenious combinations of men, beasts and birds. The Nandi in the vestibule, though of smaller proportions than the one in the Rāmēśvara temple noticed above, is artistically executed. It is rather curious that the back inner wall of the sanctum sanctorum has a long epigraph incised on it. As a general rule no inscriptions are engraved in such dark and inaccessible places for the simple reason that there is scarcely any chance of their being noticed by the public. The inscription in question, which is dated in A.D. 1715, records that the *mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* Yalahanka-nāḍu-prabhu Mummaḍi Kempavīrapa Gauḍa of the Sadāśiva-gōtra, son of Mummaḍi Doḍḍa-Vīrappa Gauḍa and grandson of Mummaḍi Kempavīra-prabhu, granted, at the time of setting up the linga, four villages to the *āgamika* or officiating priest Komāraiya in order to provide for offerings of rice, lamps and festivals for the god. Some statements in the epigraph lead

us to infer that the linga had been consecrated by a foreign Brahman, and that, on learning that this procedure was sure to result in the loss of his kingdom, the chief had it reconsecrated by Komāraiya. Grants are also registered for the other servants of the temple. The witness to the grant was Mrityunjaya, i.e. Śiva. The temple has small towers at the four corners of the enclosure and a large pond known as Kalyāṇi at some distance in front. To the south-west of the temple, outside the enclosure, is a fine shrine of Basava or Nandi with a good tower, picturesquely situated on a lofty boulder. It is a prominent structure being visible from a great distance all round. A flight of about fifty steps leads up to it and the Nandi in it is worshipped by the Lingāyats on marriage and other occasions.

To the east of the Travellers' Bungalow at Māgaḍi is a pond which is said to be the source of the Kaṇva river.

TIRUMALE

As stated above, Tirumale is situated about a mile to the east of Māgaḍi, the chief feature of the place being the well-known Ranganātha temple, a large structure in the Dravidian style with two *mahādvāras* or outer gates on the east and west surmounted by lofty towers. The temple consists of an adytum, a vestibule, a central hall and a *mukha-mantapa* or front hall. The last has three entrances with an inscription at each stating that the hall was caused to be erected by one Nāga-reḍḍi. At the sides of the entrance to the central hall are two large stucco elephants with their trunks raised over a figure of Lakshmi sculptured on the door-lintel. In the adytum is a square stone basin with a round stone in it. This round stone is the god Ranganātha. Similar representations of Ranganātha are found in several places in the state, e.g. on the hill known as Māvinkere-beṭṭa in Hole-Narsipur taluk and at Haradūrpura in the Arkalgūd taluk. Behind the round stone stands a figure, about four feet high, of Śrīnivāsa. It is stated that, however large may be the quantity of water used for the *abhishēka* or bathing of the stone, not a drop of it is left in the basin. This is looked upon as a miracle. There is likewise in the sanctum sanctorum a seated figure which is said to represent the sage Māṇḍavya who, as was stated above, is supposed to have worshipped the god. The *prākāra* or enclosure of the temple has cells all round enshrining figures of Liāma, Sitā, Ranganātha, Ālvārs or Śrīvaishṇava saints, Āchāryas or Śrīvaishṇava sages and so forth. On the back of the *garbhagriha* or adytum is a figure of Ranganātha, about three feet long, reclining on a serpent. This is called *Beḷeyuva Ranga*, because the figure is believed to be growing (*beḷe*) in length year after year. It is worthy of note that Sātāṇis perform the duties of *parichārakas* or attendants in this temple and have the privilege of entering the adytum, though the *pūjāris* are Brahmans. They light the lamps and supply *tulasi* or the holy basil and flowers for the worship of the god. A *jātre* or fair is held here on a large

scale in the month of Chaitra (April) every year, at which thousands of people from the surrounding parts collect together. There are numerous *maṇṭāpas* around the temple to accommodate the pilgrims on that occasion.

It is noteworthy that the towers of this Vishṇu temple, especially the eastern tower, show some features of the Saracenic style. This is accounted for by the statement that the eastern tower was caused to be erected by a Muhammadan Killedar of the place named Husen Khan who was a devotee of the god. It appears that the Killedar had a dream in which he was directed by a *vali* or saint to have the tower built. Gulam Husen Khan, a grandson of the Killedar, told me that he once had records relating to the erection of the tower by his grandfather, but that they were lost some years ago. He also informed me that his family had been receiving regularly a *Śrīmukha* or invitation from the temple every year until about forty years ago. This was most probably in consideration of the service done to the temple by the Killedar. Gulam Husen Khan also showed me some *nirūps* or orders addressed to his grandfather by Dewan Purnaiya in A.D. 1801 and by Krishna Rāja Oḍeyar III in A.D. 1811, and some others addressed to his father Fakruddin Khan, who was also Killedar of Māgaḍi, by Dewan Lingarajaiya Arasu in A.D. 1825 and by the Commissioners of Mysore in A.D. 1832. But none of these refers to the building of the tower. In a *nirūp* from Dewan Lingarajaiya Arasu however, Fakruddin Khan is told to take particular care of the temple garden, this being nothing but the service of God.

To the north of the temple is a small hill on which is situated a temple dedicated to Narasimha. This god, known as Beṭṭada (or Hill) Narasimha, is seated in the posture of meditation (*yōga*) in front of a stone pillar.

There are five or six families of Smārta Brahmans at Tirumale who are experts in the manufacture of musical instruments, such as *tambūris* and *vīṇās*. These instruments command a large sale both in and outside the province. The Brahmans have been doing this work for several generations. They deserve every encouragement from the Department of Industries.

BAICHĀPURA

The Varadarāja temple at Baichāpura, a village about one and half a miles from Māgaḍi, is a good structure of the Dravidian style. According to tradition this temple was built by Kempe Gauḍa in order that his mother, who was too aged to pay a visit to Kānchi, might worship Varadarāja, the god of Kānchi or Conjeveram, here every day. There is also a similar tradition in connexion with the Varadarāja temple at Maddur which is said to have been built by the Hoysala King Vishṇuvardhana on account of his aged mother.

SAVANDURGA

Savandurga, about eight miles from Māgaḍi, is an enormous mass of granite, about 4,500 feet above the level of the sea, consisting of two peaks called

Kari-guḍḍa or the black hill and Bīḷi-guḍḍa or the white hill on account of the colour of the rocks. The hill is steep and the ascent rather difficult. It is said that Sāmantā-Rāya, an officer under the Vijayanagar kings, is said to have fortified the hill about the middle of the sixteenth century. The hill was apparently named after him. It was in the possession of the Yalahanka chiefs until A.D. 1728 when it was captured by Daḷavāyi Dēva-rajaiya of Mysore. Wilks gives a graphic description of the capture of the hill in 1791 by the British under Lord Cornwallis. At the foot of the hill are two temples dedicated to Virabhadra and Narasimha. The Virabhadra temple is a large Dravidian structure standing within a court-yard with a massive outer-gate supported by huge short pillars. It has in front a fine lofty lamp-pillar, about sixty feet high, with an iron frame-work for suspending bells at the top. The bottom portion of the pillar is sculptured on all the four sides with figures and floral devices. To the left of the pillar is a good four-pillared *Kalyāṇa-maṇṭapa* and to the right an *uyyāle-kamba* with an iron-chain hanging from the top slab for swinging the god of the temple on special occasions. The god Virabhadra bears a bow, an arrow, a sword and a shield. In a separate cell is his consort Bhadrakālī with the same attributes. A Sanskrit poem called Virabhadra-vijaya, which was composed at the close of the seventeenth century by Ēkāmbra-dīkshita at the instance of the Yalahanka chief Mummaḍi Kempe Gauḍa, is mainly devoted to a description of the car-festival of this god. The work also gives incidentally a few details about the family to which his patron belonged. The pedigree of Mummaḍi Kempe Gauḍa is given thus:—Hiriya-Kempa; his son was Immaḍi Kempa, who defeated Sṛi-Ranga-Rāya's army; his sons were Mummaḍi Kempa who conquered the Mahratta chief Shāji several times and put to flight the army of the Mysore King Kanṭhirava-Narasa-Rāja, Halasa and Immaḍi Hiriya-Kempa; Mummaḍi Kempa's sons were Immaḍi Kempa, Doḍḍa Vīra, Halasa and Channa Vīra; Halasa I.'s son was Mummaḍi Kempa, the patron of Ēkāmbra-dīkshita.

At some distance to the east of the Virabhadra temple is the Narasimha temple with its adytum and central hall situated in a large cave sheltered by a huge boulder. There are two black stone elephants at the sides of the entrance. The figure of Narasimha is sculptured on a rock with that of the demon Hiranyakaśipu at the side.

KALYA

About four miles from Māgaḍi is Kalya, which was once a holy place to both the Jainas and the Lingāyats. The village is named Kalleha in inscriptions and literary works. The ruins of a *basti* or Jaina temple are pointed out in the village, and an inscription on the spot (Ma. 18) is a copy of Śravaṇa Belgola 136, which records a compact made in A.D. 1368 by Bukka-Rāya of Vijayanagar between the Vaishṇavas and the Jainas with a

view to settle the differences between the two sects. On a small hill to the west of the village are situated a Lingāyat Mutt and the Kallēśvara temple. The former is a decent and substantial structure with a court-yard and a cave containing a big room and a porch sheltered by a huge boulder. Outside the Mutt are three or four maṇṭapas containing *gaddiges* or tombs, one of which with a big Nandi sculptured on a slab is said to be the tomb of Palkurike Sōmanātha, a great Vīraśaiva teacher and author who flourished at the close of the twelfth century. The Kallēśvara temple, picturesquely perched on the hill, presents a pretty appearance from below. It is a cave temple with a *pradakshina* or passage for circūambulation. To the right of the steps leading to the temple is a short pillar sculptured with a human head. This is said to represent an old woman named Kumbalakāyajji (the Pumpkin grandmother) who is supposed to have brought ruin on the place which was once a city of considerable importance bearing the name Kalāvati. It is said that there was a fierce fight between the Jainas and the other inhabitants of the city about the purchase of the pumpkins brought by the above-mentioned woman, which resulted in the death of a very large number of the population.

SĀTANUR

The Viṭhalarāya temple at Sātanur, about three miles from Māgaḍi, has a fine figure of the god Viṭhala with two hands, both of which are placed on the waist. The right hand holds a conch and a flute and the left hand an object which looks like a bag with its mouth tied with a rope. The god is flanked by consorts who hold a *chauri* in one hand and a lotus in the other. The *prabhāvali* or halo has in the upper portion well-carved figures of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and at the bottom a figure of Varuṇa seated on his vehicle *makara*, on both sides.

KEMPASĀGARA

The Lingāyat Mutt at Kempasāgara, about three miles from Māgaḍi, is a fine building with sculptured pillars. It faces west and has a good Nandi-maṇṭapa in front. The enclosure has also good structures with sculptured pillars and fine doorways. On one of the pillars of the central hall a linga is represented as issuing out of a pot. This is known as Surābhāṇḍēśvara (the god of the liquor-pot). The ceiling of the central hall, consisting of nine compartments with lotuses, is well-carved, the lintels also being ornamented with floral and geometrical devices. One of the pillars of the front veranda has a figure, about one and a half feet high, of Kampe Gauḍa, exactly similar to the figure noticed in the Sōmēśvara temple at Māgaḍi. He is said to have built the Mutt. Tradition has it that the chiefs of the Yalahanka family built and endowed 300 such Mutts in and around Māgaḍi.

SOME HISTORIC PLACES IN THE MYSORE MALNAD

A Paper read before the Mythic Society by the Rev. A. R. Slater.

MOST of the places in the Kadur District of the Malnad are associated with the legends recorded in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, and many of them are associated with more definite historic events. Little has been written about these places, and any one wishing to get at the facts will find that the task is by no means an easy one. Few records remain, and even these have not been carefully studied. But there is a considerable amount of information available relating to some of the events of the past, but it will be necessary to take steps to conserve this, if anything like a connected account of the historic events of the Mysore State is to be made. Some of the following facts and legends have been gathered from the people living in the places referred to, while others have been obtained from the *Mysore Gazetteer*. But the information in Mr. Rice's book is scrappy and hardly satisfactory. In the lecture only four places were described, i.e. Hirimagaḷūr, Sakrepaṭṇa, the Babābuḍan Piṭṭa, and Sringeri; but the following summary gives the places of historic interest under the various dynasties.

1. *Legendary Period*

Śringeri. Rishyaśringa, the sage adorned with horns, who plays an important part in the opening scenes of the *Rāmāyana*, lived here.

Śakunagiri, the spot where the medicinal plant *Sanjivini* grew.

Hirimagaḷūr, the scene of the *Sarpa Yāga* of King Janamējaya

2. *Historical*

Anterior to the Hoysalas. The ruined village of Lakvalli said to mark the site of Ratnāpuri, a city founded by Vajra Makuṭa Rāya.

Sakrepaṭṇa, the capital of Rukmāṅgada.

Śringeri, founded by Śrī Śankarāchārya in the eighth century.

Kadmabas; essentially a Mysore dynasty; one branch extended dominions over the hill country as far as Kalasa; established their capital at Sisila at the foot of the Ghat; there are inscriptions on the Kalasa Temple which date from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

Gangas, as early as the ninth century the towns of Pirimuguḷi and Kirimuguḷi are mentioned.

Hoysalas, Angaḍi, a small village near Mudgere identified by Rice as Sośevūr or Śaśakāpura, the scene of the incident related to explain the origin of the dynasty of the Hoysalas.

Vijayanagar, The palegars of Aigur, Sakrepaṭṇa, Tarikere, etc., were subject to this kingdom. The fugitive king of Vijayanagar, Śrī Ranga Rāya, was granted protection by one of these palegars.

Keladi, the place from which the Ikkeri chiefs derived their origin.

Ikkeri, the second capital.

Nagar, the later capital of the palegars.

Mysore Rajahs, after the Mysore Rajas captured Bangalore in 1687, and Kadur and Shimoga between 1690 and 1694 the south of the district was subdued.

Haidar Ali, Bednur or Nagar associated with him and Tipu Sultan.

Revolt in 1830, due to abuses practised with immunity in the Malnad districts; Rangappa Nayyak was the head of the movement; the forts of Kaldurga and Mamandurga witness to the fighting that occurred at this time.

HIRIMAGALŪR

Hirimagaḷūr is a small town situated about one and a half miles from Chikmagalur, and is closely connected with legendary history. It is said to be situated in Siddha Kṣhētra, and to have been called Bhārgavapuri. Legend says that Śrī Rāma the son of Daśaratha came from Ajodhya to South India with Sita and her brother, Lakṣmaṇa. Sita was stolen by Rāvaṇa, the King of Ceylon, and on his way to release her, Rāma passed through this town. He was stopped by one, Paraśu Rāma, but the fight was indecisive. It was then agreed that whichever combatant first picked up his weapon from the ground should be declared victor. Paraśu Rāma's axe being heavy, he was slower than Rāma in his movements, and was thus obliged to acknowledge himself beaten. By permission of Rāma he remained in charge of Hirimagaḷūr. A small temple at the entrance to the town contains a stone axe which is said to be the one used in the great fight. There is a temple of fair dimensions, dedicated to Rāma, which probably dates to the time of the Chāḷukyas. There are inscriptions which show the town to have been an agrahāra in the ninth century in the time of King Nītimārga of the Gangas; also in the reign of the Hoysalas, in the eleventh century, governed by King Vinayāditya. Very little of the old fort walls remain, but they can still be traced on one or two sides.

But the most interesting thing in this small town is the *Yāga-Stambha*, a singularly shaped stone pillar, with a spear or flame shaped head, said to have been used by King Janamejaya when he conducted the Serpent-sacrifice. In brief outline, the following is the legend connected with it. Parikṣhid rāja, a great king, when out hunting in the forest, saw a *rishi* deep

in contemplation. In a fit of humour he placed a dead snake round the unconscious *rishi*'s neck. The son of the *rishi*, on beholding the insult shown to his father, cursed the doer of the deed, and declared that he should die as the result of snake bite. Parikshit died shortly afterwards, and his son, Janamējaya, determined to have his revenge on the serpents by arranging a great serpent-sacrifice by means of which all the serpents would be killed. This took place at Hirimagaḷūr, but by the intervention of Dēvēndra a compromise was agreed upon. On condition that the sacrifice was stopped the King of the Snakes promised that in future no snake would attack a human being unless it were first attacked. To this day the people have great belief in the efficacy of a visit to this shrine against snake bites. The supposed meaning of the legend is that Parikshit met his death at the hands of the Nāga tribe, and that his son, Janamejaya exterminated the tribe in revenge.

SAKRĒPAṬNA

Sakrēpaṭna is a small village between Kadur and Chikmagalur, and it bears evidence of being at one time a very large city. It has always been popularly associated with Rukmāṅgada, the king mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Under Vijayanagar the town came into the possession of the Aigūr or Balam chiefs, but was later taken by the Nāyaks of Ikkeri. Śivappa Nāyak seems to have been most closely connected with Sakrēpaṭna, and when the last of the Vijayanagar kings became a fugitive, he was placed by Śivappa Nāyak in charge of this district. In 1690 the town was taken by the Mysore army and was retained by the treaty of 1694. The fort walls can still be traced, as also several of the bastions. On the top of one of these there is a large iron cannon of considerable antiquity, made by welding iron rings together. It is about fourteen feet long.

About two miles from the town is a large artificial lake, set in the most picturesque scenery, and known as Ayyankere. It was constructed, we are told, by Rukmāṅgada. The embankment is 1,700 feet long and 300 feet high. Inscriptions record certain repairs made by the Hoysala kings. A prominent feature of the landscape is the hill known as Śakunagiri, the hill of good men. Here Hanuman, when in search of the medicinal plant, by means of which it was hoped to bring about the recovery of Lakṣmaṇa, received the guidance which enabled him to successfully prosecute his search. There is an interesting legend told of this lake, and a memorial to Honabilla, the hero of the story, is to be seen in the town of Sakrēpaṭna. The bank of the lake was on the point of bursting, and the existence of the inhabitants of Sakrēpaṭna was threatened. Honabilla the waterman seeing the danger, interviewed the goddess of the lake, and received a promise from her that the disaster should not take place until Honabilla had informed the king and returned with his orders. The king determined that the best way to prevent the disaster was to make impossible the return of the waterman, who was

sacrificed for the safety of the town. As the bank still stands firm the goddess is evidently still awaiting the return of the hero, Honabilla.

THE PITA ON THE BABABUDANS

The Bābābūdān mountains are mentioned in the Puranas under the name of Chandra Drōṇa. The name is given to a range of hills, six-thousand feet high, in the shape of a horse shoe, situated in the west of the Kadur District. It is the cradle of the coffee plantation of South India. It is possible to trace a considerable number of fortifications along the summits and there is little doubt that many stirring scenes have been witnessed on these mountains. But the place of greatest interest is a small, unpretentious structure, known as the Pīṭa. And it is of especial interest because it is equally sacred to the Hindu and the Muhammadan, thousands of whom visit it every year. It is situated in the wildest country, and would appear to have been very well suited to the life of the ascetics who are said to have made their homes there. The object of greatest importance is the Cave Temple or Shrine which is entered by a low door. The roof is of natural stone of volcanic origin, and has been hollowed out for some little distance, to the right and left of the entrance. Lamps are hung and candles provided to enable the visitor to explore the cave. A square place is pointed out as the spot on which the saint used to meditate; also the passage through which he is said to have made his underground pilgrimage to Mecca. In itself there is comparatively little of interest in the cave, but the great number of pilgrims from all parts of India shew that its religious significance is of importance. The legends related about the cave make it clear that both religions have adopted a compromise. The Hindus say that Dattātrēya, a famous saint lived here, and disappeared at this place. On his return the final *avatar* of Vishṇu will take place. The Muhammadans associate their saint Kalandar, with the shrine. Legend says that the saint succoured a princess from the hands of a neighbouring chief, and that for some years she resided in the cave, giving chapaties to the pilgrims who visited the saint. Later, the Kalandar, or Dattātrēya, decided to make a journey through the underground passage, but before going he instructed three of his disciples, a Lingayat, a Muhammadan, and a Brahman, to keep watch outside of the cave. The Brahman and the Lingayat wearied, and left the Muhammadan to watch alone. On his return the saint, pleased at the Muhammadan's devotion, ordered him to remain in the cave where he would obtain salvation as the reward of his faithfulness.

But there are many historical facts in connexion with this cave and the surrounding parts of the hills, but it is to be feared that the manuscripts containing them are irrevocably lost. The rulers of the Bijapur kingdom sent several forces to these hills, and it is said that on one of these expeditions they found the Jangamas had set up a temple with a big Basava near the

Piṭa. The Basava was removed and thrown into a well. From that day it was abandoned by the Jangamas. The cave is also associated with Bābā Buḍan, the Hindu convert to Muhammadanism, who brought back the coffee beans from Mecca. He landed at Mangalore, walked up the Ghats, and took charge of the cave. The guardianship has been handed down to his descendants, who still reside in the village of Attigundi near by.

ŚRINGERI

The fame of the great maṭh at Śringeri is not confined to the Mysore State, but has spread throughout the whole of Southern India. As the seat of the Jagad Guru, the spiritual head of the followers of Sankarāchārya, it has found a place in the affections, not only of his followers, but of all classes of Brahmans. The village of Śringeri is of little importance, consisting only of a long street with a loop on one side encircling a small hill, Śringa giri, on which stands the temple of Mallikārjuna. In all, there are about hundred and twenty temples, but few of these are of architectural importance. The chief maṭh is at the head of the street.

Turning to the legendary period we find this place associated with Rishya Śringa, the priest mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* who performed the great horse sacrifice which resulted in the birth of Rama. He was, according to legend, begotten without a natural mother, and grew into manhood before he cast eyes on a woman. Rōmapāda, the King of Anga, hearing that he might end the drought then prevailing in his country by persuading this saint to marry his daughter, determined to make a serious effort. Fair damsels were sent into the vicinity of his cave, and were successful in overcoming him with their charms. It was not difficult, after this, to persuade him to accompany them to the palace where the marriage with the princess took place. Later his character and abilities attracted the King of Ayōdhya who conferred on him the position of chief priest. But we come to real historical ground when we reach the eighth century when Śrī Sankarāchārya here founded his maṭh. The great teacher, in order to spread his teaching over the whole land, decided to found four maṭhs at the four cardinal points. Śringeri was one of the places selected. As is usual, legends have grown up to account for the choice of the place. It is said that he chanced to see on the bank of the Tunga where the maṭh now stands, a serpent protecting under its hood from the sunshine a female frog suffering the pangs of labour. He was greatly impressed by the sight and considered it a good omen, and decided to establish the maṭh on the spot. There is considerable doubt as to whether there existed a sacred place here before the advent of Sankara, but it is generally believed that there was here a large Buddhist monastery, the priests of which were defeated by Śankara in controversy. To support this view attention is drawn to the fact that details of Buddhist types of architecture are still to be seen in the temple, while a Buddhist image has been removed across the river and is still

worshipped. Whatever truth there may be in this statement, there is evidence that Śankara was very tolerant of the members of other faiths who resided in the village.

The only temple of any considerable size is that known as the Temple of Vidyāsankara. It is in the well-known Chālukyan style, having a raised terrace, *gopuram*, and elaborate carvings on the walls. Near by is a temple from which Śankara is said to have disappeared from life. There are conflicting statements about his decease, Wilson holding that he died at Kēdarnāth in the Himalayas, while an Indian authority says that when he had finished his mission he entered his room at Śringeri, and never returned, having gone to Kailāsa in the same body. A large new temple is in course of construction, and when completed will doubtless become the centre of worship for the disciples of the maṭh. It is built on the style of the Madura temples. While it is true that outwardly the temples are disappointing, a careful study of their development could not but prove of the greatest interest. As yet little seems to have been done toward a compilation of the history of this famous maṭh. It is a field in which one possessing a good knowledge of Sanskrit, and having access to the documents, could do splendid work. There are many legends told of the various temples, their miraculous origin, and growth, etc., and could these be collected they would be of great interest. Near to the temple there is a strongly built structure where the guru resides during three months of every year, in which time he is not permitted to go outside. For the rest of the year, unless he be making a tour of his districts, he lives in a bungalow across the river, spending his time in teaching his disciples, and in performing the ceremonies connected with his faith. The present guru was consecrated about four years ago, but during that time he has gained a high place in the affections of his followers by his character and learning. He is still young, little over twenty years of age, but he has upheld the traditions of the maṭh handed down to him by the late guru whose character and abilities were universally recognized. In a lecture intended only to give a very summary outline of some of the historic places in the Mysore Malnad, it is not possible to devote the space so sacred a centre of learning as Śringeri demands, and at a future date, a whole lecture might be devoted with profit to an account of the great teacher and the development of this particular maṭh.

THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA

A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilization

BY E. B. HAVELL

Published by John Murray, London. Price, 30 shillings.

A REVIEW

BY PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AYANGAR.

THIS book is intended by its author to be supplementary to his other work 'Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure and History' which deals with Muhammadan and British Periods. This work, however, is of a wider scope as including in it a study of the political, social, religious and artistic aspects of Indo-Aryan civilization as revealed in the Ancient and Medieval monuments of India. Mr. Havell proceeds to explain his method in the following sentences:—'The interpretation of the Indian History and Mythology through the reading of symbolism of Indian art is my own, and my authorities the architecture, sculpture, and painting herein illustrated. If my reading is wrong, my critics will convict me of error from the same sources.'

Mr. Havell begins his work with an introduction which is of a polemical character, and we pass it over as calling for no very particular remark except that the study of this branch of Indian civilization has suffered as much, from want of sympathy in those that study it systematically, as any other branch, such as Indian art of which Mr. Justice Woodroffe says, 'It has been the fashion amongst European art critics to decry the merits of Brahminical sculpture on the ground of the alleged monstrosities of the Hindu Paurāṇic conceptions, which, it has been said, are incapable of artistic treatment. The examples collected in this volume¹ will, it is hoped, help to dispel such misconceptions and to refute the unjust criticisms that they have engendered and will further a juster appreciation of the fact that Indian sculpture is not a freak of Asiatic barbarism, but is a worthy representative of a school of æsthetic performance as logical, articulate and highly developed as those of any other country in Europe, ancient or modern.'

¹ Gangooly's *South Indian Bronzes*.

Mr. Havell insists, and insists rightly, upon the fact that Architecture, like any other branch of art, is the offspring of a particular plane of civilization and can never be understood in its full expression unless that civilization is in its turn as fully understood as the circumstances of the case would permit. On the strength of certain excavations carried on recently by the Germans on the site of Babylon and the researches of the Russian scholar Sheftelovich, Mr. Havell would take back the building art of the Indo-Aryans and their civilization to an age much anterior to that to which it is usually referred, and points out, as we believe rightly, that there was no sudden bursting of the art of building through foreign importation as is ordinarily believed to be by some engaged in the study of this subject. He tries to trace all architectural buildings, and various essential details in them, to the plan of the self-contained Aryan village as described in the *Silpa Śāstras* of later times and as indicated in hints that are found scattered through a mass of anterior literature. He points out quite rightly, 'Fergusson's classification of Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu temples as representing different epochs of art or different schools of artistic expression is entirely fallacious. In a village or town where Buddhists were in a majority, Buddhist shrines would naturally be the most numerous. In other localities at the same time Jains or followers of other sects would build similar shrines dedicated to their special divinity. Whatever school of religious doctrine the buildings might represent, the craftsmanship and principle of construction remain the same, and even the symbolism was a common vernacular language employed by different sects to explain the special tenets of their respective cults.' He points out also that in a town or village and in the buildings therein contained there is no distinction noticeable in character, whether Buddhist, Jain or Brahmanical. 'Buddhist art was at the same time and place also Jain art and Hindu or Brahmanical art. India has never known any style that can be called architectural but one—and that is Indo-Aryan.'

'It will probably be a revelation to modern architects', says he, 'to know how scientifically the problems of town planning are treated in these Ancient Indian Architectural treatises. Beneath a great deal of mysticism which may be scoffed at as pure superstition, there is a foundation of sound common-sense and scientific knowledge which should appeal to the mind of the European expert. The most advanced science of Europe has not yet improved upon the principles of the planning of the garden-cities of India based upon the Indian village-plan as a unit.' From the primitive cottages figured in the earliest Buddhist monuments down to the Taj gardens of the seventeenth century, Mr. Havell finds a unity in the design and an identity of principles that underlay the work. He traces in the next two chapters this unity and similarity in various parts of India and ascribes a certain amount of influence to the vigorous propagandism and extensive building works of a religious

character by Asoka and his Buddhist successors. This is nothing strange seeing that there is independent evidence of mastercraftsmen in various branches of work, subsidiary to building, in the construction of large cities or of large works: 'Jewellers from Maghada, masons from Māhrātta, blacksmiths from Avanti (Malwa) and carpenters from Yavana (Greek or other westerners),' are stated to have assisted in building at distant Kaveripattinam at the mouth of the river Kaveri. There is a similar reference to the same Yavana carpenter, to the Malva blacksmith, to the Maghada jeweller to the goldsmith from some other place, to the picture-writers from Kosala and to the painters of Vatsa (Kosambi), so that there is no reason that Indian art should be regarded in water-tight compartments according to various localities. If there is a commonness in general design and execution, with considerable difference in detail, that is just what we are entitled to expect from the evidence available to us.

The history of Indian civilization is the history of the Indian village communities according to Mr. Havell, and he would look for the derivations of Indian temple architecture to the simple shrines of the Indian village rather than to splendid monuments erected by royal devotees such as the Asoka monuments are. He points out that while the *Śilpa Śāstras* are technical works they are not sectarian, and the classifications Brahma, Vishnu, Śiva, etc., applied to architecture as a whole or to any of its details is more a question of symbolism than anything sectarian. He rejects alike the derivation of the Hindu temple from the *Rathas* or cars of Aryan warriors described in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, on the one side, and the assumption of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy that 'Indo-Aryans borrowed most of their architectural ideas from the non-Aryan tribes which became subject to them', on the other. He takes up the question in detail in the following chapters and traces alike the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain architecture from the same fundamental principles that are found scattered in the earlier Indo-Aryan civilization and closes up with the conclusion that 'when the symbolic and structural significance of the Indian "orders of architecture" is understood, it is easy to trace the derivation of medieval forms and combinations, and their later Muhammdan modifications, from their Asokan prototypes; for, the tradition remained unbroken throughout the Moghul period and is continued to the present day.'

Further on he criticizes Fergusson's view in regard to the borrowing of the bell-shaped Persian capitals and dismisses the question of borrowing, which has now assumed portentous dimensions owing to the researches of Dr. Spooner on the excavations at Pāṭalipura near Patna, with the remark that 'none of the sculptures at Karli, and very little that belongs to the Mauryan epoch in India had any connection with Persia in the sense intended by Fergusson and other archaeologists.' He follows up the statement with the observation that 'the splendour of the Mauryan court may have

attracted skilled craftsmen from Persepolis, but they worked in India under Indian inspiration just as the Gandharan craftsmen did some centuries later. They were but craftsmen learning the art language of India, not artists enriching it with their own creative ideas. The symbolism of this Hīnayāna Buddhist art proves this to be the case, as Fergusson himself would have admitted if he had understood it.' It would be impossible to follow Mr. Havell through the various other points that he raises in regard to this subject, in the course of a review, but we feel bound to point out that the conjectural plan of the Rath at Mahābalipuram that he gives on page 89 of the work under review (Fig. 38) is in various particulars exactly the same as the completed structure of the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram, of the same period under the same Śaiva ruler Narasimhavarman II, Pallava, and that only goes to confirm what Mr. Havell wishes to enforce that the architectural principles underlying the structures were the same whether the structures were Brahmanical, Buddhist or Jain. Another remark of Mr. Havell that evoked considerable criticism is contained on page 100 of his work in the chapter where he traces the History of the so-called Viṣṇu shrine. He traces it from the similarity noticeable between these Indian structures of a very early period and the so-called palace of Senna-cherib at Ninevah. 'When further progress is made in the study of Indian craftsmanship,' writes Mr. Havell, 'it will, I am sure, prove conclusively not only that Fergusson was in error in laying down the axiom that Hindu builders never used the art structurally before Muhammadan times, but that the Muhammadans in India were themselves borrowers and derived the Indian forms of the pointed arch from the brick buildings in the Hindu Gaur.' This point, the filiation of Muhammadan upon Hindu architecture, evoked some angry criticism in the review of the work in the pages of the *Asiatic Review*. We do not feel competent to go into the question but would only quote a sentence from Elphinstone's History of India which would indicate that there is perhaps something to say in favour of Mr. Havell's contention. The extract is from page 407 of Elphinstone's History of India (new edition) and is as follows:—'The booty carried off from Delhi (by Tamarlane) is said to have been very great and innumerable, men and women of all ranks were dragged into slavery. Tamarlane secured to himself the masons and workers in stone and marble for the purpose of constructing a mosque at Samarkand.' Without following Mr. Havell into further detail, we might safely close the review with the remark that the book makes it abundantly clear that the time has arrived for a revised study of this subject on a more comprehensive scale at the hands of those that could only study it hitherto in compartments. Saying this is not the same as undervaluing the work of our predecessors who have done invaluable work as pioneers in the field. We would before closing remark, however, that the book needs revision in some particulars and a few blemishes by way of

mis-spelling and wrong transliteration require to be mended. We hope that an early revised edition of this book would be called for though the present conditions seem unfavourable to such a contingency arising as early as we would wish.

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

January, 1916

IN this number of the *J.R.A.S.* there are many articles and communications of note. M. Tseretheli concludes his interesting study of Sumerian and Georgian languages. This is the first systematic comparison of Sumerian with the languages of the Georgian group, and as such it possesses a high value. Even amongst the greatest linguists of Europe, a knowledge of Georgian is still very limited, though such knowledge seems very necessary and in some cases even indispensable for students of the Christian literatures of the Orient and especially for Assyriologists. What is the relation of Georgian with the non-Aryan and non-Semitic languages of the cuneiform inscriptions? That is a question that could be answered only by a more systematic study of Georgian. Such a study would also, perhaps, help us to determine what truth there is really in the hypothesis of some writers—Professor N. Marr and others—of the genetic relation of the languages of the Japhetic group (Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, Iranian, Haldian, Neo-Susian, etc.) to the Semitic, which is doubted in some quarters. Then, again, such a study would also help us to trace the true character of the Japhetic elements in Armenian, which is held to be a mixed language of Indo-European and Japhetic. Furthermore, such a study would enable us to determine the character of the oldest languages of Western Asia. 'It is only after such serious linguistic comparisons', says M. Tseretheli, that the great questions of the earliest ethnography and history of Western Asia can also be definitely resolved.' H. Beveridge contributes a running summary of the *Rashahat-i-Ainal Hayat* (*Tricklings from the Fountain of Life*) a Persian Manuscript giving us glimpses of Central Asian conditions in early sixteenth century, i.e., just before the Moghul conquest of India. Mr. H. F. Amedroz writes an exceedingly interesting article on the Hiba jurisdiction in the Ahkam Sultaniyya of Mawardi, which is based on the duty imposed on Moslems by the Koran iii. 100. The officer entrusted with the duty was the Muhtasib, who though inferior in dignity to the Cadi, discharged duties no less important than that functionary in civil society. Professor Lawrence Mills continues his article on Yasna xxxii. 9-15, in its India

equivalents, and so does Dr. F. W. Thomas his notes on the Edicts of Asoka. In this contribution he deals with the term *Vivāsa*, and with some minor points. He thinks that term *vivāsetaviya* occurring in the Rūpnāth edict must be read as *vivāsetaviya*, with the first *a* long, treating the verb *vivāsay*, as in the Sarnath inscription, as transitive, and meaning 'cause to dwell away', 'cause to travel.' In the edict in which the term occurs, the officials (in the Mysore versions explicitly) are instructed to cause or encourage, people to travel (for religious purposes). This being a somewhat surprising duty imposed on civil officer, Dr. Thomas asks if there is any special justification for it. He suggests that there may be some objection—as in Europe during the Middle Ages—to free travelling, and that the real meaning of the causative here is to 'allow people to travel'. In this connection, he appositely enough quotes the *Arthasastra* (c. 19):—

'No ascetic other than a *vānaprastha* (forest-hermit), no company other than one of local birth (*sajāhād anyas sanghah*) and no guilds of any kind other than local co-operative guilds (*samuthāyikād anyas samayānubandhah*) shall find entrance into the villages of the Kingdom.'

The restrictions upon *pravrajyā* laid down in the same chapter are also referred to by him in the same connexion. In discussing the term *nijhati*, he says that this term as occurring in Rock edict vi and *nijhapayitā*—as occurring in pillar-edict iv are 'suggestive of a technical use of this compound to denote an "adjournment" or "appeal" to a higher authority. It may, therefore, some day be quotable from works dealing with *niti* or law.'

The miscellaneous communications include notes on many topics of Indian interest. In a note on the development of Early Hindu Iconography, Professor A. A. Macdonell arrives at the following conclusions after a lucid discussion of the facts bearing on the case :—(1) The representation of gods with four arms began in the period 50-100 A.D.; (2) the notion of the gods having several arms and heads was indigenous to India, having been suggested by figurative expressions occurring in the oldest Veda (3) the purpose of the innovation was the practical one of supplying a means of displaying the symbols without which the gods could not be adequately identified when represented by themselves apart from the adjunct of a *vāhana*. Professor A. Barriedale Keith discusses in a note authenticity of Kautilya in which he controverts the position taken up by Professor Jacobi that he was the Minister of Chandragupta and that this fixes his date. He holds that the point should be taken still as not proven and that his theory represents nothing more than a mere hypothesis. Professor Keith adduces various reasons to show that the statesman was not the actual author of the work that has come down to us. These deserve to be carefully pondered by those who adhere to Professor Jacobi's view. Professor Keith inclines to the view that the work itself is probably not long after the period of Chanakya, though it may not be his own. It might, he thinks, be assigned to the first century

B.C., 'while its matter very probably is older by a good deal than that.' Professor Keith in another note dismisses as fantastic Dr. Spooner's recent theory of a Zoroastrian period of Indian history. It has, in his opinion, 'no foundation in fact.' He marshalls his arguments against, seriatim and says: 'The only conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is clear. Iran may and no doubt did lend India ideas of various kinds; in each case these must be carefully looked for and examined, and ascribed to Iran only if another and Indian origin is not possible and natural. A Zoroastrian period of Indian history never existed, nor indeed was any such existence to be expected. 'As regards the equation of the Māuryan palace and the palace of Darius, he thinks it rests on wholly insufficient evidence on the archæological side. There is, he says, no *a priori* reason to deny its possibility, but it must be established by archæology, not by such evidence as adduced by Spooner. In another note, Professor Keith adduces evidence to show that the terms *naktamdivam* and *rātrimdivam* mentioned by Panini (v. 4, 77) are not due to euphonic considerations as suggested by Dr. Fleet in the April number of the *Journal* but like the term *rātridivasa* of the Divyavadana they are genuine old expressions preserved in Panini showing that the idea of night preceding day naturally one that persisted even when the contrary view was more prevalent. In another learned note, Dr. Keith controverts Hillebrandt's view of the early origin of the Indian drama. He thinks that its origin is to be sought in religion and that it took a long time for the true drama to come into existence in India. He thinks that the drama in Greece and in India underwent a parallel development, neither borrowing from the other, before it reached in either country, its final, full blown form. He believes, that there is historic continuity of the Rig Veda drama and the later drama. In his opinion the first authentic drama known to us is the work of Asvaghosha, probably in the second century A.D. The play here shows the prologue, the division into acts, the mixture of prose and verse and of dialects and the figure of the Vidūshaka, all pointing to a history of considerable duration. Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Iyer of Kumbakonam in a lucid note on the date of Śāṅkarāchārya reviews this old question once again, adducing some further evidence of his own on the subject. He assigns the great Āchārya to the ninth century A.D., between the Vaishnava Ālwars and the Śaiva Nāyanars on the one hand and the Vaishnava Ācharyas on the other. Dr. F. W. Thomas writes once again in this number as to the meaning that is to be attached to the term *gana* in *Mālava-Gana-Sthithi* of the inscriptions. Dr. Fleet translates it 'tribe,' while Dr. Thomas thinks it is 'communities'. The point is rather an important one, and requires careful consideration. The difference between the two terms is, as Dr. Thomas points out, that 'tribe' is a word of concrete, untechnical denotation, while 'community' belongs to the sphere of constitutional ideas. The

two can be and ought to be distinguished. Dr. Thomas quotes the *Mitākshara* which explains the term by *Grāmādi jānasamūha*, 'totality of the people of the village, etc.' which sense is represented by Apte in his Dictionary by the word 'Community.' He then refers to the use of the term in the *Mahābhārata* in several places—ii, 31. 9; ii, 26, 12; and *Śānti-parvan*, *Adhy.* 107, which is wholly devoted to *gaṇas*. After further discussion of the term he says that the term may denote both aristocracies (or oligarchies) and quasi-democracies, and in both cases it is clear that the sense is that of groups consisting of theoretically equal numbers. 'The idea is', he adds, 'everywhere a constitutional one; and it is not the idea of 'tribe', whereof the main factor is relationship by descent.'

The rest of this highly interesting number is made up of the usual book notices, notes of the quarter, etc.

C. H. R.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

THE December number of this *Journal* opens with a contribution of Professor V. H. Jackson, M. A., on two inscriptions from the Barabar Hills, which apparently deserve close search. In this contribution Professor Jackson suggests the identification of Gōrathagiri of the Mahābhārata (Sabha Parva XX, v. 30) with the Siddhēsvar Peak of the Barabar Hills. According to the Epic, Krishna, Bhima and Arjuna, surveyed the Magadha country from the Gōratha Hill on their way eastwards to Girivrajā (Rājagṛha) to fight against Jarāsandha. The passage in Hiuen Tsang which refers to a great mountain between Pāṭaliputra and Gaya, where 'Tathāgata formerly stood for a time beholding the country of Magadha' (Beal II. 104) is, according to Professor Jackson, 'a Buddhist version of the Hindu legend regarding this hill.' Of the two inscriptions discovered by the Professor on these hills one is read as follows, by Babu R. D. Banerji: 'Gōrathagiro.' *Gōratha*, he says, may be an *apabhramṣa* form of *Gōrata* which is a form of the acacia, or it may be simply 'the *ratha* or chariot drawn by oxen.' The second is also read by him as 'Gōrathagiri.' In the next article Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in view of the discussion that has been going in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for some time past as to the meaning to be attached to the word 'Gaṇa', quotes and translates the chapter in the *Mahābhārata* dealing with the 'Characteristics of Gaṇas.' This disquisition makes it clear that 'Gaṇa' refers to the whole body politic, the entire political community and not to the 'governing body' or 'senate' only. The governing body was composed of the *Gaṇa-Mukhyas* and *Pradhāna* (Chiefs and President) whose jurisdiction it was to conduct the community. Resolutions of State were matters which remained in their hands. They held meetings and discussed those resolutions. They also saw to the administration of justice. Thus the senate was a distinct body inside the *gaṇa*. *Gaṇa* rule was essentially a rule by 'numbers.' Professor Jadunath Sarkar writes on 'Assam and the Ahoms in 1660 A.D.' in which he translates Shihabuddin Talish's description of Assam and its people about that time. It is a most vivid picture of the times—of the country, the people, the products they raised,

their customs and manners, their language, etc. Mahamahōpādhyaya Hara-prasad Shastri next contributes a very suggestive article on 'Kalidasa—his home', which deserves to be widely read. He appears to strike new ground, and the line of investigation he has taken up requires to be pursued. Among the other articles in this number are 'Superstitions of the Santals' by the Rev. Dr. A. Campbell, 'A Note on some Remains of the Ancient Asuras in the Ranchi District' by Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, and 'Ho Folklore' by Mr. Sukumar Haldar; besides a couple of miscellaneous contributions, one of which deals with traces of the practice of conrade among the Kin of the Khondmahals and the Male of Rajamahar Hills by Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira.

C. H. R.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF MYSORE

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAU, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

THE increasing attention that is being paid in England to the scientific study of place-names has induced me to direct the attention of those interested in the study of antiquities to this subject, in so far as it pertains to our own State. Mysore, as is well known, is known to history from very early times, and its contact with neighbours, with foreign kings and adventurers, and with settlers from distant parts of India—including Telugu, Tamil, and Mahratta—has brought to bear on it influences which have left their mark on its make-up. It is not surprising that a study of its place-names should indicate the origins, to some extent, of its inhabitants, the time when they came first to settle in it, the circumstances under which they did so, and the general character of the settlement they made at the time. Time has slowly but surely obliterated many of the original characteristics of these settlers, who, by the influences to which they have been subject have, practically speaking, got to bear an uniformity of appearance that is strange. That is one of the wonders of India, not only to the common man in the street but to the careful inquirer as well. But behind this somewhat deceptive similarity there is disclosed a diversity of origins that is worthy of study. In the same way, all place-names seem at first similar but closer examination is likely to tell a different tale. There is need to study them as well as we can. Such a study is likely to increase our knowledge of the history of the State, of its people and of the influences to which it has been subjected. Then, again, it is likely to increase our civic pride to some extent and finally, it would prove helpful for a more rational understanding of their origins than we have so far been content with.

It will be seen probably on examination of a large number of names, how legends, fancy, priestly influence, and the desire, to connect oneself with royalty has led to wrong derivations of place-names. There is no hamlet or country-town, perhaps, without a few old folk eager to explain its name. Their explanation will, perhaps, on a little careful examination, show how far they have wandered from the truth and how far they owe it to their desire to increase the importance of their own little place. Such a desire may be the outcome of a legitimate interest in their

native village or city, but it can hardly do to accept their derivation as an accurate one. Such explanation very generally—so far as I can state it in a few words—tends towards the humorous, the honourable or the surprising, and often away from the truth. This is the case, not only in India, but almost everywhere. A few months ago, I was reading an excellent book on the place-names of England, and the general impression that it left on me was how general is this tendency all over the world. Ignorance often leads to attempts at derivations which are possibly as far from the truth as the north pole is from the south. A few examples would, perhaps, better indicate what I have so far said. First, I will take a few English examples and then a few Indian ones, to show the general similarity of influences at work in this matter. Rochester, for instance, is said to owe its name to the fact that Mary, Queen of Scots, called to a sluggish rescuer, ‘Row, Chester!’ This reminds me of the old story which says that the priestly injunction, *Hoy Sala!* (*Strike Sala!*) gave its name to the Hoysala dynasty of kings of this State. The legend goes that Sala, the founder of the family, was one day worshipping at the shrine of his family goddess, when he was interrupted by a tiger which issued out of the adjoining forest full of rage. The priest of the temple snatching a slender iron rod (*salaki*) gave it to Sala, exclaiming, ‘Hoy Sala!’ ‘Strike Sala!’ On this Sala, drove the weapon with such force into the body of the tiger as to kill him on the spot. This, it is said, eventually led him to adopt the term ‘Hoysala’ for his dynasty, and the figure of the tiger as the device on his flag. There is, perhaps, as much truth in the one legend as in the other. Then, Hanwell is said to be a corrupted form of (St.) Ann’s Well. Maidenhead delights to derive its name from its connexion with a virgin martyr, while Maidstone revels in a similar attempt to account for its name. Old Billingsgate is likewise anxious to trace its origins to a British king, and Colchester, not to be outwitted, claims actually a royal name from Old King Cole. Some of these early derivations are due to the ingenuity of the chroniclers, chief among whom is Geoffrey of Monmouth, the first among historical novelists. Some, perhaps, should be traced to the zeal of the old antiquarians, who unable to resist the temptation of drawing inferences, made facts yield to fable. Thus, they argued, should not Bath be the Roman *Camulodunum* because the neighbouring village of Temple Cloud is so plainly a corruption of *Templum Claudii*? If fairly significant names shared this fate, where is the necessity for inquiring into the origin of names like Man-of-War Rock, Seacourt, and The Peak? That, at any rate, is what an English writer says, and his exclamation finds an echo in this country.

Indian parallels to these early English attempts are not hard to find. So far as Southern India is concerned, I can say it is most easy. Thus, take *Dwārasamudra*, the old name of *Halēbīḍ*, the famous Hoysala capital, in what is now Hassan District. We find beautiful descriptions of the place,

during its palmyest days, in the inscriptions relating to the dynasty. It is, according to some of these, another form of Dwārāvātipura. A study of the earlier forms shows it has nothing to do with Dwāraka, with which earlier writers connected the town, but with perhaps, a certain local chief (or king, Dora, who probably was the first to excavate the fine tank which gave its name to the whole town. Then, take, Vyasaraṇpadi, near Madras. Popular tradition traces it to Vyasa, the compiler of the *Mahābhārata*, a derivation which, inscriptions show, has no basis to stand upon. Then take Kolar, about which the wildest derivations were at one time rampant. One early writer went so far as to make it the chief town of the Kols, the aboriginal tribe of Central India! Another suggests that it is named after a herdsman Kola or after his plough, *hala*. Inscriptions show that the earlier forms were *Kuvalāla*, and *Kōlāla*, the latter of which is still heard in the rural parts of Kolar district and the adjoining British District of Salem. Possibly the name is derived from the name or title of a king of the Ganga line, called Kōlāhala, whose name appears in an inscription of the twelfth century. Next take the name of Korati, a village in the old Salem and the present North Arcot District. It is said to owe its name to a demon whose story is set out in full in the *Salem District Manual*, by Mr. W. J. H. Le Fanu, I.C.S. It is hardly to be doubted that, as the inscriptions on its temple walls show, it is a corruption of *Kalatti*, a shortened form of *Kālāhasti*, the temple being dedicated to *Kālāhastisvarar*, the deity who presides over the famous temple of Kālāhasti, in the North Arcot District. The name *Kalathi* is still a common one among Chetties in and around Madras, and is given to those specially who are looked upon as the special boon of that god. Then, take, another place in North Arcot, Vāṇiyambāḍi, near the railway junction, Jalarpet, on the M.S.M.Ry. It is said to owe its origin to Vāṇi or Sarasvatī; probably it more correctly derives its name from a Vāṇiya or a colony of Vāṇiyans, who first settled there. Then, take the famous name Trichinopoly. Tradition would connect it with Triśira, the demon, whose abode it is said to have been in primeval days. A study of its earlier forms shows that it derives its name from 'Tiru Śilai', 'the holy rock', from the famous rock there. Then, again, take the name Chingleput, near Madras. It is said to be a corrupted form of 'Chengalpet' or 'brick town' because of the quality of its earth, which is pre-eminently fit, it is said, for making bricks. Its earlier forms connect it—if we may judge from lithic inscriptions—'Sengalu nīr paṭṭi', which shows that it owes its name not so much to its earth as to the peculiarity of its water. Then, take, Cuddalore, which has nothing to do with the sea as is popularly imagined, *Kaḍalūr*, but with the two rivers at whose junction it stands '*Kūdal Ur*', i.e. 'Junction town.' The name is mentioned in one of the earliest tombstones in the place, that of Mary and Catherine Davis, dated A.D., 1623-4 distinctly as 'Coodalore.' Still earlier mention of the name in Tamil inscriptions shows

that this is the right derivation. Compare this name with our own Kūḍali, nine miles to the north-east of Shimoga, which is situated at the confluence of the Tunga and the Bhadra, where they unite to form the Tungabhadra. Shōlavandān, the beautiful little paddy flat close to Madura, has nothing to do with *Sholam*, but owes its name to the Pandyan king who came to conquer the Chola king there, routed and killed him there. It is more correctly *Shōlan Vandān*, 'the Chola came' from the fact of the Chola reaching the place, which was at the time considered the key to the Pandyan capital Madura. A ruined temple close by has on its broken walls an inscription giving the name of the place as '*Chōlānthaka Chaturvēdamangalam*'— 'the Brahman settlement of the Pandya who proved the Yama (destroyer) to the Chola.' Then, take, Dimili, on the other side of Madras Presidency. Picturesque little Dimili, in the Vizagapatam District, has nothing to do with Dimma or Dibbā. It is another form of *Dramila*, in which form the name occurs in an early inscription. *Dramila* is another form of *Drāvīda*, the place owing its origin to a number of Drāvīda Brahman settlers who came to live in it during the time of one of the early Hindu kings.

Nearer home, we have, for instance Arakalgūḍu, a small town in Hassan District. It has nothing to do with *Arka*, 'the sun,' in whose honour the linga in the local temple is named. Its early form, according to inscriptions, seems to have been *Arakalgūḍu*, which means quite a different thing. Similarly Bānavar, in the same district, has nothing to do with *Bāna hora*, 'carry arrow.' Tradition would have us believe that Rāma, the great Indian hero, 'carried the arrows' to this place when they had been dropped by Lakshmana, his brother, from sheer fatigue. In the twelfth century, the name, according to an inscription, was *Bānavara*, arrow town, which shows the origin of the legend. Hassan itself, is not named after *Simhāsanapura* as suggested by the *Stala-purana* of the place but probably from '*Hasin-amma*,' 'the smiling goddess,' who has a temple dedicated to her in the place. Talakāḍu, in the Mysore District, has apparently nothing to do with the two hunter brothers, *Tala* and *Kāḍu*. According to the local story, these two began cutting down a tree which till then had been worshipped by wild elephants, and found in its trunk an image of Vishṇu. They set about enquiring and came to know that the elephants were Rishis who had to pay the penalty of their past sins by offering worship to Vishṇu in the form of elephants. They then put the disjointed parts of the trunk together, when it was miraculously restored to its original shape. The place, therefore, got the name of *Talakāḍu*. The two brothers have images to represent them in front of the temple of Vēdēśvara at the place. The forced derivation of the name seems apparent on the face of it. The city is perhaps one of the oldest in the State. Its name has, as usual, been translated into Sanskrit as *Dalavana*. It appears as *Talakāḍu* (or *Dalavana-pūra*) in early records, which shows its true origins. Kunigal, in Tumkur District, famous for its stud farm, is said to owe its name to Lord

Śiva. Śiva, it is said, danced there, and hence the name of the place *Kunigallu*, 'dancing stone.' That Śiva was fond of dancing we may grant at once; but not so easily the story that he danced here. The true origin of the name is, once again, disclosed by the earlier forms. Inscriptions show that these were *Kuningil*, or *Kunigal*. Pretty little Tumkur itself is fancifully derived from *tumuku*, a small drum, the story going that it was finally given to the herald of a local chief, to whose dominions it belonged. Inscriptions show the early form (tenth century A.D.) to be *Tummēgūru*, which, as suggested by Mr. Rice, might mean the country of the *tummē* or *tumbē*, a common fragrant herb (*leucas indica*). The same great authority disputes the traditional derivation of Chikka-magaḷ-ūru and Hire-magaḷ-ūru, which, according to the story, were estates bestowed by King Rukmāṅgaḍa, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, on his two daughters. He cites the authority of inscriptions as old as the ninth century A.D. from which we learn that the earlier forms of the names were *Piriyamuguli* and *Kiriyamuguli*, which are the correct forms of the two names. He suggests, rightly I think, that they owe their names to the *muguli* (*acacia suma*), a useful tree. Kadūr is said to owe its name to *Kād* or *Kadavē*, an elk, which would make the name of the place literally mean 'Elk town.' The story goes that a local chief, when out hunting in the direction of the place, had his dog turned back and pursued by an elk. It is possible—though there is as yet no evidence for it—that the name is a corrupt form of *Kadur*, 'forest town,' from the fact of its being in the midst of the great and beautiful forest country. There is no doubt that the place is an old one, going back to Ganga and Hoysala days. That shows that it was possibly one of the very first towns to be founded in the Malnad tracts in olden days. Śringeri, the famous seat of the great Guru Śankarāchārya, is by popular tradition connected with *Rishya Śringa-giri*, the place where Rishya Śringa, the great anchorite, is said to have been born. The forms *Śringēri* and *Śringa-giri* both occur. The popular derivation strikes one as distinctly apocryphal. We have as yet, however, no clue to the proper derivation. Possibly the name owes its origin to the peculiarity of its position in what may be described as the true Malnad tract of Mysore. Baḷagāmi, perhaps, the most famous place of antiquity in all Shimoga District, is said to owe its origins to the demon Bali, whom popular fancy also makes the founder of Mahābalipuram (or the Seven Pagodas) far-famed for its rock-cut temples. But its true origin is indicated in the numerous inscriptions that are found in it. They yield the following forms:—Balligāve, Balligāmve, Balligrāme, Ballipura, Balipura (the last of which appears rarely). The high Chandragutti peak in the west of Sorab taluk is said to be so named because by its great height it obscured even the moon. Hence it was named *Chandragutti*. A Rākshasa, finding Krishna taking refuge on it, reduced it, it is said, to its present size. The summit is 2,836 ft. above the sea level and it bears traces of its old fortifications. Possibly the name in

olden days was *Chandravatti*. Belagatti, in the same district, appears in inscriptions as *Belegavatti* which indicates possibly how we should derive *Chandragutti* as well. The derivation of the now insignificant village of Malavalli in the same (Shimoga) District, is of interest because it throws some light on what might possibly be the origin of the far more famous place of the same name in the Mysore District. At the Shimoga village, which is situated some nine miles from Siralkoppa, Mr. Rice discovered an important inscription of Haritīputra Śatakarṇi, which he assigns to the second century, which, if correct, would make it rank amongst the oldest epigraphs in Mysore, only next in importance to the edicts of Asoka found in it. In this inscription, the name Malavalli appears as *Mattapatti*. Would we be wrong if we traced the original form of the other Malavalli also to Mattapatti? This Malavalli of Mysore I need hardly add, was the scene of the only action that took place between General Harris and Tipu Sultan on the great General's march on Seringapatam in 1799. According to inscriptions, which unfortunately give no clue to the earlier forms of the name, it was famous in the seventeenth century as much for its splendid fruit gardens as for its learned men. Mattapatti may mean either 'level or even village' or 'boundary village,' i.e. village which fixes the boundary. Honnali, in Shimoga District, is said to derive its name from *Honnu anala*, 'gold of fire,' the tradition being that fire is the father of gold, i.e. gold, valued as it is as a metal, is subject to the influence of fire. This seems fanciful but there is no clue to its origins. Mr. Rice says it means 'gold bearing,' because an inscription gives its name as Suvarnnali, which is the Sanskritized form of Honnali. Talagunda, in the same district, is famous in Mysore history, as the place where the Kadamba king Mukanna established the 12,000 (or 32,000) Brahmans he imported from Ahichchatra. The name appears in a very old inscription, assigned to the fifth century A.D., as Sthāpugundūr. Most people know, I take it, the romantic tale connected with the name Humcha, another small village in Shimoga district. Inscriptions in the place show that it should have been a town of note in olden days. The name is said to be another form of Hombucha, which means 'golden bit.' It is said that the founder of the place, a Jain prince, according to an inscription of the ninth century A.D., from Muttra carried with him an image of a goddess, the nether part of which when it came into contact with any iron object, turned it into gold. With the aid of this image, he raised funds enough to build a town unto himself, which he called *Hombucha*, after the golden bit itself. Tradition as preserved in the place confirms this story taken from the old lithic inscription. It is impossible yet to say how far it is an attempt at explaining an already existing thing. The earlier forms, as appearing in the old inscriptions, are:—Pomburchcha and Paṭṭi Pomburchcha. The letters P and H interchange in Kannada as in Telugu and Pomburchcha may become Homburcha or Hombucha, from which comes the present

familiar name Humcha. The derivation of Chitaldrug, head-quarters of the district of the same name, is also doubtful. The name of the place as it appears in old inscriptions is Bemmattanakallu; Bemmattanuru. We have no clue yet to these names. The present name is derived by Mr. Rice from *Sitala* or *Chitrakaldurga*, meaning 'spotted or picturesque castle, or Chitrakal, umbrella-rock, the umbrella being the ensign of royalty.' To the south-west is a striking lofty hill of this form, considered sacred by both Hindus and Musalmans. The place is undoubtedly a very ancient one, as may be inferred from the numerous ruins found in its neighbourhood. Many interesting finds, including Buddhist coins of the second century A.D., have been dug out of them, and it is probable that further research will yield us better data as to the true origins of the name. Then, take, the name Nandidrug, the old health resort of this State. It is now derived from Nandi and drug, meaning 'Hill of Śiva.' A study of the older forms shows distinctly the transmutation that the name has undergone in the course of its history. The earliest form is 'Nandagiri,' which means 'The Hill of Pleasure,' a name befitting its position and surroundings. A very old line of kings, Jains by religion at the time, called themselves 'The Lords of Nandagiri.' I may here remark that the Jain ascetics had always an eye for the picturesque and they selected—I say this after wandering over most of their ancient abodes in all Southern India—the most isolated, commanding, picturesque spots available for passing their lives. There is evidence to believe that this hill was at one time occupied by Jains. A Jain inscription on it begins by invoking the first Tirthamkara, *Vrishabha*, which means Bull, and it is possible, as has been suggested by one authority, that this made the transmutation from *Nandagiri* to *Nandigiri* an easy one. In the eleventh century when this part of the country was over-run by the Cholas, who were Saivites in faith, they changed the name to 'Nandigiri,' i.e. Hill of Nandi, the Bull of Śiva. The name occurs in inscriptions of the period as *Nandigiri*. The present shortened form of *Nandi* dates from British times, the endings *drug* and *giri* being dropped for the sake of convenience. Then, take Anekal in Bangalore District. The name Anekal, if we trusted to phonology alone, would lead us to an utterly meaningless derivation. Mr. Rice in his *Gazetteer* says that the derivation of the name is unknown. But in the Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for 1905-6, he makes mention of a stone brought to his notice by the Rev. Father Pessim of the Kolar Gold Fields. He describes it in a few words thus:—'It has at the top a large figure of a cross, below which are three lines of inscription somewhat old Kannada letters. These show that it was set up to mark the Kumbāra *ane* or potter's dam, of which there are still remains in existence. As the Dominican Friars are said to have built a church at Anekal in 1400, it would seem that this dam may have been made for the benefit of their converts. This stone had escaped notice as it had been removed from its original site in the town and

deposited for safety in the Roman Catholic Church.' If this derivation is correct, then what we call *Ānekal* must be pronounced as *Anekal*. The only question is would *n* change even by popular usage into *n*? Then, again, take Domlur, the name of a place included in the C. and M. station of Bangalore. Its earlier forms are Dombalur and Tombalur, which perhaps is Tumbalur, which is the name also of a little place quite close to Adoni where is to be seen a half-ruined Chalukyan temple, one of the few gems left of its class. Next take Savandurg, memorable for its capture in 1791 by Lord Cornwallis. Its original name was, it is said, Samantadurga, after one Samanta Raja, a Vijayanagar general who is said to have first fortified it about 1543 A.D. When Kempe Gowda II of Bangalore took it, he is said to have changed its name to *Savana-durga*. The derivation is not by any means satisfactory. It shows that further research is necessary in the matter. Then, take, Yelahanka, so well known to all of us. It is one of the most ancient places in Bangalore District and gave name to a *nāḍ* which included a large extent of country round it. The older forms are *Ilaipakka* and *Elahakka*, from which comes *Yelahanka*. This part of the country was in early days under the Chola kings, who gave Tamil names to the places they occupied. This was part of the settled policy. Provinces, towns and villages got new names everywhere they went. The name Kankanhalli, also close to this city, has puzzled many. Buchanan gives the fanciful derivations given him over a century ago. He writes in his *Diary* :—'I went three cosses to Kankananhalli, commonly called Kankanhalli. The former name is universally said by the natives to be the proper one; but the derivation which they give of it seems very forced. *Kanikarna*, they say, is the genitive case of *Kanikar*, which in the Tamil language signified a proprietor of land, and *Halli* in the language of Karnata, is a village.' Later, he adds, in a note: 'The name of the village is properly Kanya-Karna, composed of two Sanskrit words, *Kanya*, virgin or the goddess Bhavani, and *Karna*, ear.' This does not, as Mr. Rice justly remarks, throw much light on the question. Nor does the popular derivation that it is named after a Muslim named Khan Khan help us much. Here, again, a study of the earlier form is shown to be of great value. An inscription of the 13th century yields the form *Kāni Kārahalli*, which shows that the first of the derivations mentioned by Buchanan is nearest the truth. It was apparently a Tamil (probably Chola) settlement, and was made up of settlers who had certain peculiar rights of property in the land. Then, take, Mysore itself. The name is said to be *Maisa+ur* or *Mahisa+ur* indicating, it is said, the town of the *Mahisa* or *Mahisha* (or buffalo) country. Tamil poets and inscriptions refer to *Erumai-nad* or the buffalo country as being situate in or near Mysore; the Mahawanso, the Ceylon chronicle of kings, mentions Mahisha-mandala; the name also occurs in Asoka's Edicts of the third century B. C. The question of the identification of this *Mahisha mandala* with Mysore has been gone into at

great length in a recent number of the *J.R.A.S.* (1910). Dr. Fleet thinks it has nothing to do with Mysore, while Mr. L. Rice thinks it does. That shows the difficulty of arriving at proper derivations. In favour of Mr. Rice's view, it may be pointed out that Mysore District is still full of wild forests with elephants, tigers, panthers, bears, bison, etc. Bison (*Gavæ Gaurus*), which is even now found throughout the ranges frequented by the elephants, is in Kannada known as *Adavi* or *Kadu Kōna*, i.e., the wild buffalo. The story of the demon *Mahishāsura* and his destruction by the goddess Chāmundi in the form of *Mahishāsuramardhini*, 'the slayer of the wild buffalo-headed monster' is probably a later attempt to give a *Puranic* connexion to the place. Hence the derivation *Mahishāsurapuri*, i.e., the city of the demon *Mahisha*. The legend has had wide vogue and some of the most splendid figure sculpture I have seen as far ahead as Orissa is connected with it. It would seem from a study of the inscriptions on the Chamundi hill, that during the past three centuries the fame of the goddess has eclipsed that of the presiding god of the hill. The oldest temple on it is that of Mārbala or Mahabalēsvara, which belongs to a period anterior to the Hoysala king Vishṇu Vardhana. He made some grants to it in 1128. One of the fugitive kings of Vijayanagar living at Chandragiri, made a grant to it in 1620. Dodḍa Deva Raja Wodeyar of the Mysore family took an interest in the hill and cut out the beautiful monolithic bull half-way up on it. His late Highness Krishna Raja Wodeyar III repaired the goddess's shrine, and in 1827 made arrangements for her festivals and processional cars, etc. Since then the goddess's shrine has outshone the god's and is at present the most thought of. Another very old town in the State is Seringapatam. It seems probable that the place round it has been held sacred from time immemorial by one sect of Hindus or another. The Jains were, according to some inscriptions found near the place, settled here as early as the ninth century A.D. In the same century, we find one Tirumalaiya—probably a Brahman—making a clearing on the island and building temples on it, one dedicated to Ranganatha, apparently in imitation of the one lower down the river near Srirangam. He appears to have enclosed both the shrines with a wall and to have given the name of Srirangapura or *paṭṭana* to it. Probably it became a *paṭṭana* later, for a *paṭṭana* signifies a highly populous place. Srirangapatam was a great place apparently during Vijayanagar times and when Raja Wodeyar took it in the seventeenth century, he made it his capital. We have a striking description of it as it was in Haidar's time from the pen of the Missionary Schwartz. Finally, we may take the name Bangalore itself. Nobody is anxious, I think, to disturb the somewhat romantic story which makes it mean the 'City of Beans.' The popular story is found in most guide-books, but perhaps will bear repetition on the present occasion. 'One day,' the story goes, 'when king Vira Ballala was hunting, he became separated from his attendants, and losing his way, wandered about till nightfall. At last, faint and weary, he came upon a solitary hut, in which

was an old woman, to whom he applied for something to eat. She had nothing to offer him than some *Bengalu*, green beans boiled in a little water which however he was glad enough to get, and sharing them with his horse, passed the night under shelter of the lowly hut. The incident speedily became known, and village (*ūru*) which sprung up thence took the name of *Bengalūru*. This is the version given by Mr. Rice. Variants of the story appear in older books, one of which says the boiled beans she gave to the king was *avare bengālu*. Now there is apparent in this story an evident desire to secure an ancient and if possible a royal origin for the town. When Kempe Gowda founded the present city, it is said, Vira Ballala's *Bengalūru* was to the north of Kodigehalli. When Kempe Gowda's new town came to be called *Bengalūru*, Vira Ballala's old village was content with the appellation of Halē (or old) Bangalore. Kempe Gowda is said to have founded the city and built the fort in it about A. D. 1537—that is about the middle of sixteenth century. To make it older still, attempts were apparently made to make its origins go back to the good old times of the Ballala kings, and Kempe Gowda being but a petty chieftain with no claims whatsoever to royalty, they wanted as may be imagined, a royal sponsor for the city as well. There is no doubt that parts of the country included in Bangalore District, and in fact some of the villages not far away from the modern city of Bangalore, are fairly old from the purely chronological point of view. Bangalore itself figures in two inscriptions as 'Bengulūru'; one of these has been assigned to the tenth century A. D. and the other belongs to the time of Kempe Gowda. But it does not necessarily follow from this that the present city itself is older than Kempe Gowda's time. It is admitted that a good portion of the country even during the supposed Vira Ballala's time was a wild tract. It is possible it was so even to a later date, a date somewhere near Kempe Gowda's. That Kempe Gowda was the true founder of the present city is also admitted, though it is alleged he drew off to his new town not only the inhabitants of old Bengalūru but also its name. It is possible the greater safety he afforded by his fort, attracted people from the nearer villages who lay exposed to the ravages of rapacious chieftains bent on carving out petty principalities to themselves. Many of the points included in the story show that Kempe Gowda made a fresh clearing of the old, forest land and laid the foundation of a new city (not far away from the old) on a well-chosen spot. Whether this was so or not, we have to answer for the old name 'Bengaluru.' The name Bengaluru may probably resolve itself into not *Benda Kālūru* 'the City of Boiled Beans,' but *Benda Kādūru*, 'the City of the Burnt Forest', i.e., city built on a new clearing. If this is granted, the transition from *Bendakādūru* to *Bengadūru* and from *Bengadūru* to *Bengalūru* is both easy and possible. Here, I must add a word of caution. This derivation, I suggest, only as a possible one; I don't say I have found any evidence for it, apart from phonology. But phonology, as you might have inferred from what I have

stated so far, is no proper guide in these matters. Moreover the earlier form is 'Bengulūru' which has to be explained. Is this the correct form of the name? We must, therefore, know the older forms if any, from documents, coins, inscriptions and the like, of the name, and see if the hypothesis is confirmed by evidence obtained *ali unde*. Unfortunately Bangalore does not figure in more than a couple of inscriptions; nor does it on any coin that I am aware of. There were no mints at any time in Bangalore, though coins bearing the names of Ballapur, Chikballapur, Devanhalli, Nandi, Hoskote, and Kunigal have been known to exist. The last of these—Kunigal—were coined, it is understood, by Kempe Gowda himself. Old documents may, perhaps, tell a different tale. The conclusion we arrive at is that even the most satisfactory derivation of a place-name, from a phonological point of view, cannot be, and in my opinion, ought not to be regarded as either accurate or final until we have made it pass through the crucible of a more exacting scientific test on the lines now followed in England and elsewhere in this branch of study.¹

The English and Indian examples I have quoted show how baseless are some of the old derivations. A study of older forms, as learned from documents, inscriptions, legends on coins, etc., has shown us how we can, if we choose, arrive at more satisfactory results. The lines on which this study should be carried out may be stated in a few words. First, we should try to ascertain the successive forms through which the name has passed down the centuries. Then, to check these forms by a knowledge of the habits of composers of inscriptions and legends on coins and of scribes who wrote out deeds and documents in older days; next, to check the form thus arrived at by the laws of phonetic transmission; and finally, to refer to the ancient lexicons and modern dictionaries as well, if necessary, and interpret the earliest form. While doing all this, we must not forget one important consideration and that is the history of the locality and the influences to which it has been subject—for example Tamil, Telugu, Mahratta, English—during the course of ages. Also, we would do well to study the peculiarities of the place and everything concerning it. These precautions are likely to minimise the chances of error. Without early forms, it is all guess work. I would resist even the most tempting derivation in their absence. They are the true guides of a scientific explorer in this altogether neglected field of research. Phonology is good only to a limited extent, only I think, as corroborative of the correctness of a possible form. It would be dangerous to take a step trusting too much on its aid. At any rate, phonology has proved delusive in

¹ Referring to the inscription of the tenth century A. D. above alluded to, Mr. R. Narasimha-charlu, Officer-in-charge of Archæological Researches in Mysore, says in his Report for year ending June 30, 1915:—Another old inscription . . . which may be assigned to about A. D. 900 is of great interest as it mentions Bengaluru (i. e. Bangalore) thus testifying to the antiquity of the place. The story which connects Ballala with the origin of the name (*Mysore* II, 43), may now be given up.) (Page 16 of Report; also see page 45 of Report.)

many cases, and it is best not to lay too much stress on its importance, especially when we can easily invoke the aid of inscriptions, coins and documents. If our place-names are treated on this plan, in a methodical and systematic manner, by men who can command leisure for the task, I am certain a great many names which are now puzzles to us will yield their secrets up to us. The work awaits the man.

In undertaking work of this kind, one or two considerations ought to be borne in mind. First, it would be best to clear the ground by a careful study of the terminal endings of place-names. These endings disclose in certain cases a particular physical characteristic of the locality; the outside influence to which it has been subject or to which it owes its first origins; the limits of a chieftainship, principality or province of which it formed a part; or to a prominent building or to what is more common to a temple, river, tank, well hillock, fort, or tree in or about it. I have examined the place-names of a few districts of the State with some care and they yield the following endings to which, perhaps, many more could be easily added:—

Ūru	Halli	Kere	Ghaṭṭa	Wadi	Palya
	Palli				
Pura	Kundi				
Agrahāra	Kāval	Samudra	Kaṭṭe		
Mangala	Agara	Sāgara			
	Haṭṭi	Belgola			
	Hālu				
	Koṭṭige				
	Māvu				
	Gūdu				
	Kuppe				
	Kurichi				
	Vaṭṭa				
	Dodḍi				
	Gurki				
	Teravu				
	Koppa				
	Golla				
	Male				
	Netta or (Natta)				
	Gūli				
	Podu.				
Gudi	Bīdu	Vara	Bagalu	Bande	Khāne
	Mane		Vagalu	Kallu	
				Beṭṭa	
				Konda	

Mahal	Beli	Kōṭē	Kuntē	Thōṭa
		Gōdi	Bhāvi	Mallige
Anē		Wala	Gondlu	Hundi=a village
(=Dam or dyke)		(=Hola)		

Jala

Hant.=stair or step.

Gundi=Hollow or pit.

Aji (cf. Kondajji in Chitaldrug) = Grand-mother.

Avve (cf. Chiggavvē in Tiptur taluk, Tumkur District)=mother.

Pēṭe

Hunsi

Valse

Balli

Konḍi

Koḍlu

(=Valasa) (=Valli)

Now even a cursory examination of these lists shows that Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and even Muslim influences have been at work in the formation of our place-names. No doubt there are words common to most, if not all the Dravidian languages, and in the case of these it is possible the fear of Telugu and Tamil influence in the State may be discounted largely. Among these words, I would, in passing note the following :—(1) *Angana*, (अङ्गना) a yard or court. According to well-known authorities, this is one of the twenty-one Tatsamas or words borrowed by Sanskrit from Dravidian languages. Its other forms are *angana* (अङ्गना) in Sanskrit and *Ankana*. Its original meaning probably was 'a place to walk in.' This appears as *angala* for certain Kannada place-names. It means literally 'open space surrounding a village.'

(2) *Kōṭē*, which is also one of the twenty-one *Tatsamas* referred to above. Allied to it are *Kuṭa* or *Kūṭa*, meaning, a house, a fort; *Kuḍi*, a hut; *kōṭa*, *kōṭṭa*, a shed, wall, or fort. Probably all are from Dravidian *Kūḍu*, meaning 'to come together'. The leading idea, as Dr. Gundert suggests, is 'a place of coming together' or 'that has been joined together or constructed.'

(3) *Kuṭira*, a hut, or a cottage. This represents Dravidian *guḍil*, *kūḍu*, etc. *Kūḍu* appears as a terminal ending of many of our place-names.

(4) *Kuṭika*, a small house. This represents Dravidian *Kōṭṭige*, etc.

(5) *Kuḍya*, *Kūḍya*, a wall. This represents Dravidian *Kūḍu*, or Kannada *gūḍu*, a familiar ending for many Kannada place-names.

(6) *Paṭṭana*, a settlement or town. This represents Dravidian *Pāḍu*, from which comes *paṭṭu* (cf. our own *haṭṭi*, another familiar ending for Kannada place-names). From the same root comes *pāḍi*, a settlement (cf. Kannambāḍi, Yathumbāḍi, etc.)

(7) *Palli*, a settlement, or a small village. This also comes from Dravidian *pā*. It is still another ending for Kannada place-names.

Making some allowance, then, for the common origin of some of the

endings of our place-names, there is still much to answer for. Often we shall find the terminal endings as much foreign as the other portions of the names themselves. In such cases foreign influence as to origin may be safely inferred. This, and the other attendant circumstances, would eventually lead us to the right conclusion in each case.

Pura, *Agrahāra*, and *Mangala* indicate Brahman inroads; *Hālu*, *Haṭṭi*, *Koḷige* and *gūḍu* indicate generally pure Kannada villages; *vaṭṭa* (Tamil *vattam*), *Kurichī*, *Netta* (= *Natta* or *Nattam*), possibly indicate Tamil incursions; *Dodḍi*, *Vara* (= *Varam*), *Valse* (= *Valasa*), perhaps show traces of Telugu intrusion. *Khāne* indicates Mahomedan influence. These are only to be used as guides by the interested and not as finally settling the true origins of a name. The popularity of the Hindu temple is shown by the number of villages ending with *Gūḍi*; of the local chief's palace by the frequency with which villages end with *Mahal*, *Manē*, *Bīḍu*, etc.; of the fort by the endings *kōṭe*, *gōḍi*, etc.; and of conspicuous natural objects in the vicinity of the village, by the endings *Hunṣi*, the tamarind tree, perhaps, a big one; *Māvu*, the mango, *Kunṭe* or *Bhāvi*, a well of some repute or magnitude; *bunde*, *kallu*, *beṭṭa*, *konḍa*, all of which refer to a possible rock or hillock or mountain in the vicinity; *kēre*, *samudra*, *sāgara*, *Belgoḷa* all of which suggest fine sheet of water near about the village. Then, again, *Bēli* suggests a defensive hedge, probably set up as a protection against invading hosts; (cf. Belur, which is perhaps *Beli* and *ur*, i.e., hedge town; cf. Nelvēli) *pālya*, a chieftain's stronghold; *valasa* or *valse* and *gūḷi*, settlements made while on flight from an established village, owing to the devastating effects of sudden war or famine; *wala* or *hola*, a well-known field; *bāgaḷu*, a gateway of the State or Province, for instance, Mulbagal (= The Eastern Gate), which appears in an unrecognizable form in the pages of the military historians of the eighteenth century; *wāḍi*, (cf. Kalaswadi where *wāḍi* means literally 'a house,') a section or part of the territory of a chief; and *pēṭe*, a market—city or town, especially the city portion as opposed to the fort, in a large-sized town of some importance. The *kōṭe* (or Telugu *kōṭa*) was always opposed to the *pēṭa*, each being a distinct part of the city proper, e.g., Bangalore *kōṭe* as opposed to Bangalore *pēṭe*. Flowers and plants not infrequently give their names to towns and villages. Often place-names end in words indicating a common plant or flower, probably very common in the locality. For example *Mallige*, the jasmine (*jasminum samba*); *gōnde*, an amaranth (*gomphrena globosa*); *valli* or *balli*, a creeper or vine; *gula* or *gulaka* (as in *Gulakamale* in Bangalore district), a stout herb (*Solanum ferox*); *agara*, probably *Agaru* or *aguru*, which is the balsam tree which yields *Bdellium Amysis agallocha*; *konde* (Tamil *konrai*), the tree *cassia fistula*; *gurki*, which is possibly *gurige* (= *guri*) a plant yielding the oil *guizotia abyssinica*. The bamboo is seen in Bednur, lit. Bidarūr, the *tari* tree (*mimosa catechu*) in the name Tarikere, where it grows wild. A clearing is indicated by *teravu*; a corner or retired

place in *gollu* (cf. *Ravugolla*); an alley or lane in *gondi*; an impervious jungle by *gondlu*; a dam or dyke by *anē*; water by *jala*; a garden of note, more especially a flower garden, by *thōṭa*; a ruined fort or fort wall by *gōdi*; territorial limit by *vara*; a hamlet or insignificant village by *gūḍu* (literally a nest), *kuppa* or *kuppe*, *koppa* or *koppal* (a hut), *kottige* (a barn), *doddi* (a cow pen), *palli* (a hut), *hatti* or *atti* (a penfold) etc.; a town or rather country or castle by *pura* or *paṭṇa*; a town or rather country town, by *ūru*; a highly populous town, *nagara*. I may add that no city that could not boast of at least a lakh of houses could call itself in old days a *nagara*.

Thus, we come to the second consideration that a student of research should bear in mind in this matter. He should never take it for granted that names were given to places without reason. Each place got a name which was in some way appropriate to it. This appropriateness might have become blurred during the course of history. It behoves us, therefore, to be cautious in accepting modern derivations of places. In certain cases to suit these new and fanciful derivations, temples have been erected, sculptures have been cut out and even *purāṇas* have been written. These may enshrine genuine tradition but they deserve to be sifted before final judgement is passed in each case. For instance, in the course of my wanderings during the past fifteen years and more practically all over Southern India, I have come across dozens of places literally with the founding or naming of which one of the three following stories has been told:—(1) The story of the cow giving its milk to a *linga* in an ant-hill and a town or temple giving its name to the town arising on the spot. (2) The story of a dancing girl committing some heinous sin and excavating a big tank to expiate it, and the tank giving its name to the city or village near it. (3) The hare turning upon the hounds at a particular spot, and the spot being selected for a big city. All these three stories are to be met with in connexion with the study of the place-names of this State. For the first, I would cite the name of *Dodḍaballāpura*, which is said to be a shortened form of *Dodḍaballa-hālpura*. The story goes that a cow was giving away a 'big measure of milk' to a *linga* in an ant-hill, where the town came to be built afterwards. Keladi, in Shimoga District, the first seat of the Ikkeri chiefs, has a similar story told about its origin; Sorab, in the same district, has a similar story to its credit, only god Ranganātha takes the place of the traditional *linga* there. For the second, I would mention the famous tank of *Sulēkere*, the largest of its kind in the whole State, situate in the Channagiri taluk of the Shimoga District. Another unfinished tank of the same name is near Maddur, in the Mysore District. About both of these tanks, the same story is told. This story of a dancing girl expiating her sins by digging a tank is told in connexion with tanks situate as far away as Madura in the South, and Vizagapatam in the north-east. Then, as regards the third, quite a number of places may be mentioned, e.g. *Chikballāpur* in Kolar District; *Periyāpaṭṭana* in Mysore District; *Kadur* in Kadur District, and

Ikkēri in Shimoga District. Where these stories occur, the derivation offered should be taken *cum grano salis*. It is best in such cases to search for a more rational explanation of the names.

Then, again, in the conquests and invasions that the ancient rulers of Southern India indulged in, large tracts of territory of rival kings were occupied and these tracts and the towns and villages in them received new names. Chola inscriptions show that this was an invariable custom with the kings of that dynasty. Their war of conquest extended to Mysore in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. There is reason to believe that they had something to do with this part of Southern India even earlier than that. However that may be, they annexed in the eleventh century the whole of Mysore south of the Cauveri from Coorg and east from a line about Seringapatam to Nandidrug. It was a part of their settled policy, as Mr. Rice has well pointed out, to impose their names on the new acquisitions. The southern half of what is now Mysore district became Muḍikonda Chola-maṇḍala, the north-west of Bangalore District Vikrama Chola-maṇḍala; the Kolar District, Nikarili Chola-maṇḍala; and the territory to the north, beyond Mysore, Irraṭṭaipāḍikonda Chola-maṇḍala. These were the new provinces of the Cholas and in these were created sub-divisions, each called by a new name. Thus the southern portion of Muḍikonda Chola-maṇḍala became Gangaikonda Chola-Vaṇaṇḍ, while part of Irraṭṭaipāḍikonda Chola-maṇḍala became Jayamkonda Chola-Vaṇaṇḍ. The names of towns and cities in these provinces and sub-provinces were also changed. Thus, Talakāḍ became Rajarājapura; and Maṇalūr (Maṇalūrpaṭṇa near Channapatna) became Nikarilicholapura. Though Chola rule lasted for nearly a century, these new territorial names did not take root. With the retaking of Talakāḍ, the old capital of the Gangas, in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., and the driving out the Cholas, the older conditions prevailed as ever before. All the same a hundred years of Tamil occupation could not but have left its mark and we need not be surprised that there are still in the people and the places they occupy some reminiscences of the past. Thus in parts of the State which at one time were occupied by the Cholas, there are to be met both Tamils (Brahman and non-Brahman) who have long been part of the general population of the State, and Tamil place-names remind us of their first incursions into this land. In the wake of the conquerors, it is natural that their own men should have followed and settled in the land under their patronage. Similarly in the days of the Vijayanagar kings, Bangalore, Kolar, Tumkur, and Mysore districts obtained some small accretions of Telugu people to their populations. The terminal endings of place-names in these districts indicate this fairly plainly. In Bangalore, for example, they end as often in *doddi* as in *halli*, as often in *Kōṭa* as in *Kōṭē*, and as often in *Konda* as in *Sandra*. Similarly in Kolar, names end as often in *paḷli* as in *halli*. *Penta* is also a common ending for villages in that district, e.g., Valasapēṭa,

Boipenta, etc. in Srinivasapur Taluq. What is more interesting in this district is that the names are wholly Telugu in character. Vyapalapalli, Setṭivāripalli, Yerramvāripalli, Bhōgamvāripalli, Nakkalavāripalli, Gollapalli, Bodireddipalli, Guntapalli—all names without any admixture of Kannada in them. In Tumkur, *palli* is conspicuous by its absence, though there are without doubt a sprinkling of Telugus in it. The place of *palli* is taken by *pura*, which as *puram* is quite a favourite with the Telugu people. Thus some of the Telugu place-names occurring in this district are Venkatapura, Rayavara, Vobalapura, Timmapura, Somalapura, Ramapura, Virūpākshapura. *Pura* in these names is really Telugu *puramu*. The names themselves, I may add, are quite popular among Telugus elsewhere—for instance in the Ceded Districts of Madras Presidency. I would naturally detect a Telugu origin or admixture—especially when we know from independent sources that the district in which they are situate has been subject to Telugu influence—in the case of villages ending with *pālya*, *kotē*, etc. Though they at first sight seem to be Kannada names, they would, on examination, be found to be places inhabited or occupied by immigrant Telugus of olden days. The numerical smallness of Telugu people in Mysore district, is reflected in the very few distinctively Telugu place-names occurring in it. The same may be said of Chitaldrug, though it borders on a Telugu district of Madras Presidency. As regards the other districts of the State—Hassan, Shimoga and Kadir—these are essentially Kannada districts and this fact is fully reflected in their place-names. In these three districts, the most popular endings are *halli*, *kērē*, *pura*, *samudra*, *holē*, *hatti*, *ghatta*, etc. The only districts in which the distinctively Tamil endings, such as *kurichi*, *patti*, *natta*, *pōdu*, etc., occur are Bangalore and Kolar. The explanation for this is that they were in olden days in Tamil occupation for over a century, which brought in Tamil settlers into them. Moreover, they border on a Tamil district, from which from time immemorial there has been a constant inflow of Tamils into them.

Attempts at wholesale changing of names since the days of the Cholas have been few and far between. Haidar Ali rarely changed names. On one such occasion was when he took Bednur in 1763. He was charmed with the place, and he desired to make it, according to one account, his capital. He built a palace for himself outside its fort walls, opened a munitions factory and a mint in it, induced many merchants to settle in it and even tried his hand at the introduction of the silk industry into it. Having done this much, he could not, perhaps, naturally, resist the temptation of calling it by a new name. And what name would be more acceptable to his ears than his own—Haidarnagar, from which our shortened form Nagar comes. The old name Bednur still survives as an alternative one for the place. It was so called after the nature of the country in which it was situate—interminable bamboo forests, *Bidaruhalli* or *Bidarūr*

appears to have been its original name; then we find it as *Bidarūr*, from which it became *Bidanur*, from which *Bednur* was only another step. Haidar also changed the name of Kabaldrug into Jafarabād, but the name soon died out. Haidar's son, Tippu Sultan, indulged in innovations in every direction. He changed the names of almost everything from the name of his own government to the pettiest office under him. Towns and forts could not, therefore, escape his notice and these too changed their names. But, with his downfall, they also disappeared from the memories of the people. Since then, places have changed names only on rare occasions. Possibly they have done so of their own accord, or in recognition of a royal compliment paid to them. Krishnarajpete and Narasimharajapura may be mentioned as instances of this. An older example is Chamrajnagar in Mysore District. Its ancient name was Arakottara. His late Highness Krishna Raja Wodeyar changed it, in 1818, to Chamrajnagar after his father's name, he having been born there. In still earlier times, Chikka Deva Raja Wodeyar re-named a small town known as Vijayapura as Gundalpet, *i.e.*, the City on the Gundal river. This is the river Kaundinya, which empties itself into the Kabbani near Nanjangūd. Chikka Deva was a prisoner at one time there, performed the funeral obsequies of his father there, and in memory of him made it an emporium, which it still is to some extent. Gundalpet later became Gundlupet, a change requiring little explanation. Coming to more modern times, Closepet, near Bangalore was so named by Dewan Purnaiya, in 1800, when he founded the place, after Sir Barry Close, Resident at the time in Mysore. It is known also by the name of Ramagiri, a neighbouring hill of the same name. But it is very popular as Closepet. Papanpalli (also called Bāpanpalli) in the Kolar District was re-named Srinivasapur by Dewan Purnaiya after his return from a pilgrimage to Tirupati, where the presiding deity goes by that alternative name. Hirode in Mysore District has been long known as French Rocks, because Haidar's and Tipu's French troops encamped there. Kadgodī was changed into Whitefield, after Mr. D. S. White, the founder of the E. and A. I. Association at Madras.

Before concluding I should like to suggest that some one with more leisure and better knowledge of the Dravidian languages and Sanskrit should take up this subject and pursue it systematically. Such an attempt would end in a book which would help to a better understanding of the history of the State. It is possible I have made the subject appear more recondite than it really is. If so, it is my mistake; for it has a human side to it which ought not to be missed. Names after all stand for the tangible feelings underlying them, and these, when we do trace them, to their true origin may disclose not only clues to the history of the regions in which they are found, but also to the thoughts of the people who preceded us as inhabitants of this ancient land.

IN KERALA

BY A. B. CLARKE.

THIS is 'a record of a Tour in the South of India with Their Highnesses the Maharajah and Maharani Gaekwar in June and July 1915'. His Highness the Gaekwar has given an additional proof of his continued interest in the Mythic Society by sending the President some copies of this valuable publication.

The get up of the book leaves nothing to be desired, and it contains some excellent full page illustrations, of which the most notable are 'His Highness and his Elephant' and 'Her Highness's Bison'. The book is a record of Their Highnesses' tours in the Kollengode Zemindari, the Native States of Cochin and Travancore and to Courtallam Water Falls, Bangalore and Humpi.

The book appears to be intended 'for private circulation only' but the author's literary attainments and great powers of observation have placed it on a different level from the 'high and dry' records of the travels of eminent personages. One wishes that the author can be persuaded to print a second and fairly cheap edition. It will be read with pleasure and profit in 'Kerala' and elsewhere, by those who have no access to this private edition.

It is not possible in a short review to give an idea of the good things that one comes across on almost every page. The most interesting portion of the book describes the great Elephant hunt in Kollengode by their Highnesses. This event is probably unique in modern Indian History.

'At last the time comes, the rifle (of the Gaekwar) is rested against a convenient forked bough, a shot rings out, disturbing a thousand echoes, frightening a thousand birds. The rogue, his race run, staggers, falls, rolls over on ponderous side, the loudly rustling grass falling in swathes under him, struggles, and—is dead. Maharajah had aimed true, his bullet entering the brain through the ear-hole. Her Highness, firing at the smaller beast, a second or two after the Maharajah's shot had sounded, hit him, but did not kill at once, it requiring a second well directed bullet to send him beating the grass under him like some gigantic reaper, dying down the hill.' That is the incident. Twenty pages further is the 'Chorus' quoted from the 'Cochin Argus'. 'The women folk of this town are excited and alarmed to

hear that Her Highness the Maharani, during her shooting expedition in Venganad Hills in Malabar with her royal consort, shot a nine foot tusker. 'This is no doubt a fact, but the Indian women cannot believe it'. Mr. Clarke comments drily that the surprise felt by the ladies of Ernaculam (Cochin State) is understandable, for it will doubtless be shared by most of their sex. It should be recorded that the Maharani accounted for a bison also, tracking him on foot after he had been wounded,—a most dangerous exploit.

Extract after extract of description can be quoted to show that the book deserves better than 'to live in private circulation only'. Here is an example. 'Long will that journey (from Ooty to Coimbatore) be remembered, if only for two scenes of rare beauty; the first, the Kateri Falls, swollen by the heavy rain of the past week,—leaping with roar and tumult from boulder to boulder, caressed by down-leaning trees on its way, merrily splashing the cars as they pass; the second, the foaming muddy brown torrent of the Bhawani river, chafing at restraint of banks or bridge as a horse frets and fumes under curb; in vivid contrast, the green of overhanging branches, the blue of the sky, now clear of all clouds save those which darkly frown on distant hill-tops.'

About Courtallam Falls he writes, 'For the spirit of the waters has grown to giant's estate in a single night, is no more entirely playful and benevolent, is now in a mood to do mischief. From the heights above, from the haunts of the Gods of the waters and woods, with a roar of laughter he springs in air, to rest a moment hundreds of feet below in a boiling pool; thence again a spring, and he tears away the pitifully weak bamboo enclosure which seemed so secure yesterday, in haste to join a mightier than he, even Varuna, whose reckless mirth he is imitating.'

Room cannot be found for Mr. Clarke's accurate descriptions of what he saw in Kerala and elsewhere; the following remark of his will suffice to show that Mr. Clarke speaks of things as they are. 'The road to Trevandram from Quilon has an excellent motoring surface, enviable to us, indeed; for the roads in Baroda are, compared with those over which we have been passing, execrable, including those of the capital.' One does not like to shed illusions, but a similar sense for reality compels the reviewer to remark that the signs of great prosperity that Mr. Clarke saw throughout Kerala are,—as Mark Twain said about the report of his death,—'greatly exaggerated.' The Malayalees are a volatile race, and were intensely happy to see Royalties speeding by; but judged by material standards, even Indian standards, the people are poor. Kerala is one of the countries where the question of 'the pressure of population on the means of subsistence' has become one of practical politics.

There is a pleasing reference in the book to the Garden Party that Dewan Madhava Rao gave to Their Highnesses at Bangalore. 'Followed a charming entertainment in the invention of which Mr. Madhava Rao and his

coadjutor Father Tabard, showed most praiseworthy ingenuity.' For the benefit of readers outside Bangalore, it is necessary to note that the Father Tabard of this entertainment is the Translator of *Essai Sur Guṇādhya et la Brhatkathā*, and President of the Mythic Society.

The book is an excellent one and one must conclude by stating again the wish that means might be found to enable the general public to peruse it.

K. CHANDY.

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